20c DECEMBER 11, 1950

New Republic

THE NEW WAR IN KOREA

AN EDITORIAL

WHY EUROPE HANGS BACK

By PERCY WINNER

MacARTHUR TALKS TOO MUCH

By HAROLD L. ICKES

CHRISTMAS BOOKS

A DISCRIMINATING READER'S GUIDE

Irwin Edman Sidney E. Lind Lincoln Kirstein

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OPINIONS DIFFER . . .

. . . about almost everything these days—about ballets and ballots, fiction and fission, prima donnas and presidents. We at the *New Republic* regard this as a healthy state of affairs. We've always dared to differ—violently at times—and to fight with courage and conviction for liberal ideas and ideals, even in the face of hostile reaction and inaction.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

RUSSIA wants to fight Red China, and a large part of America wants the same thing. Between them, they have the Administration over a barrel. The Administration has the choice between two defeats: the Little Defeat which means cutting losses in Korea, or the Big Defeat which means falling into the Moscow trap and making all-out war with China. Traps are generally baited, and this one is too. Every temptation of Jingoism is to slap one's chest, denounce "appeasement" and charge madly ahead. It is what Moscow wants. It is what Prime Minister Attlee is here to warn us against.

The American War Party doesn't like Attlee; it doesn't like Acheson; it worships MacArthur. Here is the way Henry Luce's *Life* magazine puts it: "No sellout is necessary. Any sellout would make for war, not peace." Contrasting MacArthur's alleged views with those of the "timorous men in Washington," the editorial adds: "He knows that the surest way to all-out war with them is any display of fear toward them." The Scripps-Howard newspapers take an even more chauvinistic line, a line that seems to this column so unrealistic as to border on insanity.

"Why isn't Asia as important as Europe?" Well, one crassly materialistic reason is steel. Russia is steel-poor; China is pauper-poor. But if Russia grabs Western Europe, she has as much steel as we do. It is hard to over-emphasize this much neglected fact.

"Well, then, why don't we bomb Chinese bases in Manchuria?" Sounds easy doesn't it? But China has a treaty with Moscow; Moscow has 5,000 warcraft along the Siberian provinces, the Pentagon estimates. Up to this time they haven't bombed retreating UN forces, thank God! If that air force struck, it would make extrication of the UN armies impossible; it might mean the loss of half of the 100,000 American boys there.

The American course has been honorable. In Korea it galvanized the UN and showed the hope of the future. Moral responsibility for failure of its action, we feel firmly, rests on the aggressor totalitarians. But to point out the new, merciless facts is not "appeasement," it is simple realism.

We have tried to be fair to MacArthur. Contrary to European critics, we can find no evidence as yet that he exceeded UN authority. But his defied aloofness, his toadying subordinates, his political views and his military rashness have produced catastrophe. As Exhibit No. 1 we give you Major General Willoughby, head of the Tokyo intelligence division, a General Braddock sort of figure. He told reporters haughtily, when sounded out on the necessity of giving ground, that "British and American regulars don't behave that way." To a reporter who suggested that facts had not supported his superior's appraisal of the Korean War he retorted, "If you feel that way about it, it's all right with me."

MacArthur is a talking General. If he would keep his mouth shut it would be a lot easier. Domestic unity is vital now, and so is unity with America's allies. But MacArthur and his powerful supporters are on the defensive; they are hypersensitive, they carry chips on their shoulders. MacArthur fires off barrages of press interviews. They are hard to take. It is to be hoped—prayerfully hoped—that in the rancor of misfortune he does not precipitate a poisonous controversy.

Franklin Roosevelt could see over, under and around a press question. It was he who restored oral questions at White House conferences, and he loved them. Truman is more simple, frank and direct. He snaps out literal answers without weighing implications. He scared the daylights out of the whole globe last week by casually saying we were considering using the A-bomb. He

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meant it in the sense that we always consider using any weapon. Before a clarifying White House statement was issued the equally literal-minded press associations, with a fine irresponsibility of their own, had sent out terrifying bulletins. Their effect was to bring Attlee hurrying to Washington.

Much as we hate to say it, it would probably be wiser if Truman went back to the old custom of written questions whose answers can be weighed. But his A-bomb explosion, devastating in some respects, perhaps did good. Certain blinders came off men's eyes. A-bombs are not made for fun. Listen quietly, and you can hear them tick. Shocked Europe apparently is ready to speed up the integrated army under a supreme commander, as one result.

Notes: Able, young Gil Harrison who founded the American Veteran's Committee, has produced a new organization worth watching: the International Federation of Veterans Organizations representing 13 countries and about 10 million members. It looks like the kind of counter-blow to Soviet propaganda that really counts. It will concentrate on mobilizing veteran support behind the UN. Organized in Paris last week, it will be headed by Albert Morel, head of French veterans. Four US veteran groups were represented in Paris—AVC, AMVETS, the Disabled Veterans and the Blinded Veterans. Elliot Newcomb, executive director of AMVETS, will be secretary general of the new organization in Paris. Its initial budget is $100,000. . . . Now comes the test of whether political professions for "pay-as-you-go financing" are as good as I-O-U's. Congress is ready to vote appropriation billions. Will it balance the budget with corresponding taxes? We guess it won't. That means galloping inflation unless direct controls come quickly so we expect accelerated movement toward such controls—plus some inflation unless direct controls come Mayor of Toledo is "Mister 31." Truman asked 30 men before DiSalle to take the thankless job of price stabilizer. DiSalle has a good record.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Laski Memoir

SIR: I am collecting material for a biographical memoir of Professor Harold J. Laski, and am eager to see letters and material which throw light on his life and opinions. He was a prolific letter-writer and had many friends in the United States. I should be most grateful if anyone who has preserved his letters, or other material concerning him, would lend it to me. All letters and manuscripts will be copied and carefully returned at once.

KINGSLEY MARTIN
EDITOR, THE NEW STATESMAN AND NATION
10 Great Turnstile
London W.C. 1, England

The New India

SIR: The article, "Can Free India Survive" (the *NR*, November 13), by Michael Straight, is one of the best you have ever published. . . .

I have read several books on the new India, but this article by Mr. Straight has given me more facts and a deeper insight into this new nation than the books I waded thru. . . .

Cincinnati, Ohio NICHOLAS KLEIN

Rich Analysis

SIR: Just a note to say that I enjoyed very much your "Book Number" comparisons between the two most recent post-war eras. It is a rich analysis, indeed!

Cleveland, Ohio ROBERT C. GAEDE

Missouri Valley Project

SIRS: I am a student of Baker University and taking a course where we are using the *New Republic* for immediate news information. I've found your magazine interesting and worth reading.

In the October 30 issue I want to commend you on the article "Scandal on the Missouri" [the Army Engineers' Pick-Sloan Plan vs. Missouri Valley Authority —ed.] for I too think that the waste and carelessness our Government agencies practice is unnecessary and inexcusable. . . . Either something should be done to eliminate this constant waste or department heads should be replaced with men and women who are interested in conserving our country's treasury. . . .

More articles like this should be put before the people and this way maybe we could scare these men into realizing they aren't "pulling the wool over the American people's eyes."

Baldwin, Kansas VIRGINIA LEE ROSS

Non-Partisan Liberals

SIR: "Future of the Left," the lead editorial in the December 4 issue of the *New Republic*, is mislabeled. It should be entitled "Future of the ADA and PAC." It is my own strong feeling that the results of November 7 have greatly enhanced the importance of such non-partisan, liberal groups as the American Veterans Committee. Liberalism can only win politically when liberal politicians campaign in a climate of liberalism. That is why AVC is so important today. This is particularly true in a time when we are periled by war, because what veterans say about war is awarded a higher validity by the public than what is said by others.

I very much regret that the *New Republic* (and other weeklies in the same class) has neglected, for some time, one of its natural functions: reporting the activities of liberal organizations. When AVC held its convention in Chicago last November, drove the communist-oriented "Progressive" caucus out and elected Michael Straight the National Chairman, AVC members looked in vain for a report on the convention in the *New Republic*. . . .

The *New Republic* could do much to hold and increase its circulation by competently reporting the activities of all significant liberal groups.

Washington, D. C. L. C. PAKISER

Flag Day

SIR: I hope you will find it impossible to refrain from noting—without comment—that the New York City Board of Education refused to accept the proposal of its own colleague, James Marshall, that the United Nations flag fly atop our school buildings.

New York City MARTIN WOLFSON

The "NR" and Modern History

SIR: I have just finished reading "Did Hitler Win?" by the Rev. A. Powell Davies (the *NR*, November 20). I would like to congratulate you on a very fine article. I am a college student reading the *New Republic* as an assignment in Modern History. . . . There is a need in this country for more articles of this caliber about our government and the men who make our laws. . . .

Bethany, W. Va. ROBERT SCHOOF

"Half a Century Later"

SIR: In his fine article "Did Hitler Win?" surely Mr. Davies intended Montaigne to fall half a century *earlier* than 1625, not "half a century later."

Fayetteville, Ark. JAMES L. JACKSON

(Editor's Note: A slip it was. Bacon 1561-1626; Montaigne 1533-1592.)

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THE WEEK

THE UN AND THE CRISIS

LAKE SUCCESS (NR correspondent)

The gloom steadily deepened at Lake Success last week. Not only were things going badly in the fighting in Korea; they were going as badly as possible in the Security Council. Those who had hoped that the arrival of the Chinese Communist mission would reveal some possible bridge between East and West were completely disillusioned by the opening speech of Wu Hsiu-chuan (who does not want to be called General), head of the mission.

In one sense, Wu made an impressive statement of the Chinese Communists' case, in that he argued like a skillful lawyer, quoting from President Truman, from Chiang Kai-shek, from various New York newspapers and from other documentary sources; but his speech was a monstrous piling of lie upon lie, on all fours with the barefaced Russian performances which it so closely paralleled. The United States is the aggressor; no Chinese Communists are fighting in Korea except volunteers (of whom American delegate Austin asked acidly: "Where do they get their jet planes?"). The presence of the Chinese Nationalists in the UN is illegal, and, therefore, all the acts of the UN are illegal.

> The Chinese people [said Wu] have consistently supported all proposals for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question and for genuinely localizing the Korean war. . . . Who has been extending the Korean War? Who has shattered security in the Pacific?
>
> You have guessed the answer: the United States. Our armed aggression against Taiwan [Formosa] is definitely not any "temporary measure" arising out of the Korean war, but rather a premeditated plan that had been decided long before the civil war in Korea was created. This US armed aggression was directed toward vastly extending and not toward "localizing" the Korean war, toward seeking "to dominate every Asiatic port from Vladivostok to Singapore." . . . The American imperialists have never been the friends of the Chinese people. They have always been the enemies of the Chinese people. . . . American imperialists adopted what was known as the "Open Door" and "equal opportunity" policy which, though ostensibly different from the policies of the other imperialist powers, was in fact an aggressive policy aimed at sharing the spoils with the other imperialists. . . . The US Government and the Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang reactionary clique signed all kinds of unequal treaties and agreements which reduced China to the status of a colony and military base of the United States. . . . The US Government has taken this series of aggressive acts with the purpose of realizing its fanatical design of dominating Asia and the world. . . . American imperialism has taken the place of Japanese imperialism.

If we were forced to take Wu at face value, the situation would be hopeless; the Third World War would already be in progress, and our predicament perilous in the extreme. But as everyone knows, totalitarian language does not necessarily march with totalitarian thought. Many delegations at the UN still believe some sort of settlement other than all-out world war is yet possible. There is no denying that many of these delegations feel very strongly that General MacArthur was unwise and provocative in the timing of his supposedly final offensive and prefer the repeated proposals of the British for a buffer zone along the Yalu. In so far as President Truman and Secretary Acheson are backing MacArthur (and nobody here is quite sure how far that is), there has been and is deep dissatisfaction between the US and some other powers. At the same time, there is no suggestion of anything but sticking together to work our way out of the mess as best we can.

CONGRESS IN LOW GEAR

With only a month in which to consider several key measures requested by the President, Congress got off to a slow start last week. On its first day back, the House met for only 41 minutes and adjourned for three days. Despite the two-month recess, none of the House committees had any legislation ready to bring to the floor. The Senate met for 50 minutes, mostly to shake hands and console the "lame ducks." But the following day the disturbing turn of the war in Korea rocked Congress into action. Election animosity noticeably faded, and even Senator Wherry, who in his opening press conference had predicted there would not be time this session to carry out any of President Truman's wishes, said "the situation in Korea is critical and compels unity of all leaders in our Government in making vital decisions of policy that must be made." There was talk of keeping Congress in session through Christmas to assure passage of emergency measures.

Statehood for Alaska and Hawaii, passed earlier this year by the House, was first on President Truman's list for Senate action. In a letter to Vice President Barkley, the President said Hawaii and Alaska are not only vital to the defense of the United States in the Pacific, but "they are also the proving ground of our democratic institutions in the Pacific area, with tremendous psychological influence on the hearts and minds of the people of Asia and the Pacific islands." Both territories maintain a high degree of military readiness. The security of our national defense forces there, the President declared, rests upon the wholehearted effort and support of the local population. Both areas pay all federal taxes, although they have no voice in levying them or in spending the tax revenues. Their young men serve in our armed forces. "It is now obvious," the President said, "that the people of both territories can exercise effectively all the rights of self-government under statehood both in local and national affairs . . ."

Southern Senators held a caucus on statehood and civil rights issues and took the floor in protest. Richard Russell (D, Ga.), leader of the Southern bloc in the Senate, said that enough Dixie Senators opposed statehood to keep a filibuster going if the Administration presses the

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issue during this interim session.

Southerners have long opposed admission of Alaska and Hawaii out of fear that it would upset their balance of power in Congress on civil rights issues. Sen. John C. Stennis (D, Miss.) deplored the fact that the four new Senators would represent only about 120,000 people in Alaska and about 460,000 in Hawaii. (Hawaii's population exceeds the populations of four states—Delaware, Nevada, Vermont, Wyoming.) In the special election in 1947 which sent Stennis to the Senate, the total vote in Mississippi was 191,719, out of a population of 2,183,796.

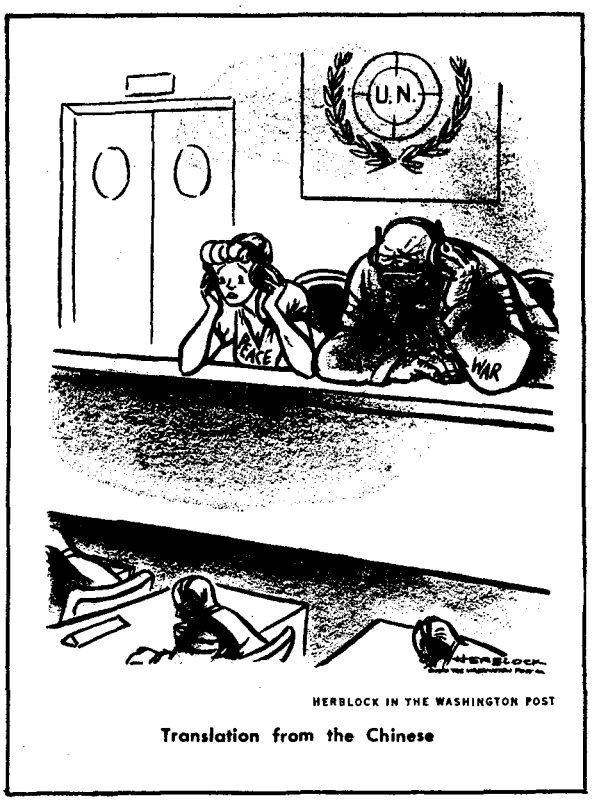
FOOD-LIFT FOR YUGOSLAVIA

For a while this fall it looked as though the Cominform's dire forecasts of doom for "traitorous Tito" might come true. A ruinous Balkan drought hit hard at Yugoslavia's fragile economic strength, burning up the crops of corn and wheat which are its food staples. The drought also threatened to cut the slim trickle of raw materials which Tito has been getting through the Cominform blockade in trade for normal farm surpluses. The drought will cost a total of $600 million, the equivalent of a $30 billion loss to the US. The choices for Tito's rebel Communist regime appeared grim: slacken the crucial military support for the army which faces hostile Stalinists from the West, East and North, or risk large-scale starvation when food supplies ran out during the winter months.

The big gap in basic resources could be met from only one country—the United States. Aid from the West has been increasing in direct proportion to the growing Soviet pressure, but Tito's role is difficult. There is a limit to how deeply a Communist regime, no matter how threatened, can permit itself to be obligated to the capitalist US. American diplomats, however, were up to the situation. US Ambassador George Allen quietly pursued discussions with Tito's officials which developed into a program of direct American economic assistance.

Stop-gap arrangements were made to assure a gradual inflow of aid. Export-Import Bank loans, previously granted for specific industrial projects, were diverted to the purchase of US food surpluses which were rushed overseas to allow the Yugoslavs to supply the mountain regions near the Adriatic and in Macedonia before winter made them inaccessible. ECA flour and lard were sent on from their original German and Italian destinations to bolster up the supplies of a newly-created Relief Commission, formed by Tito's Economic Council. Finally, the US announced that Military Assistance Program funds were being used to supply food for the Yugoslav Army, the first time such funds were allotted to a country not signatory to the Atlantic Pact. By the end of last month, $30 million worth of food supplies had been committed under these programs, about half of the minimum necessary to carry the country through on cut rations. Then President Truman asked Congress to establish the program on a regular basis through an aid bill providing another $38 million in food and another $35 million program will probably be put before the next session.

Congress' decision, determined under the pressure of a continued Korean War, may not come easy. Aid to Tito means not only a calculated military risk, but the political soul-searching involved in full-scale assistance to an avowed Communist regime. While the Yugoslavs are determined to preserve their position "between the blocs," assistance from the US will strengthen their position both internally and externally. There's still a step from using MAP funds for feeding the army to helping augment its inadequate equipment. But Tito's hope is that if we help feed an army, we'll do our best to make it ready to fight.



HERBLOCK IN THE WASHINGTON POST

Translation from the Chinese

COST OF LIVING CLIMBS

The announcement by the Bureau of Labor Statistics last week that retail prices reached a new all-time high during October came as no surprise to consumers. The index of prices of goods and services bought by moderate-income families has climbed to 2.7 percent above the last pre-Korean index in June; 3.7 percent higher than October, 1949; and 31 percent higher than June, 1946.

House furnishings, wearing apparel and rents showed the heaviest increases. Higher prices for dairy products, eggs, fruits and vegetables were mainly responsible for the rise in the food index between mid-September and mid-October.

Egg prices were up 7.4 percent, dairy products rose 2.9 percent, bringing them to the highest level since February, 1949, and canned fruit and vegetable prices rose 2.6 percent above last month.

Household rents rose .6 percent in the three months prior to October 15. In 11 cities surveyed, increases ranged from .1 percent in Buffalo and New York City to 1.8 percent in Savannah.

As a result of the index, General Motors announced an upward revision in its cost-of-living allowance. Under the GM wage-adjustment formula, approxi-

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mately 357,000 workers will receive an additional three cents per hour allowance after December 1. Another 80,000 GM employees will receive an additional $15, or a total of $55, for the period between December 1, 1950, and March 1, 1951, when the next review of the cost of living will be made based on the BLS index of January.

AMA'S SPENDING SPREE

The American Medical Association has no intention of relaxing its efforts against President Truman's health insurance program. Its multi-million dollar advertising campaign, timed to coincide with the November elections, proved so successful that the doctor lobby has announced it will continue the drive—at least until 1952, a Presidential election year.

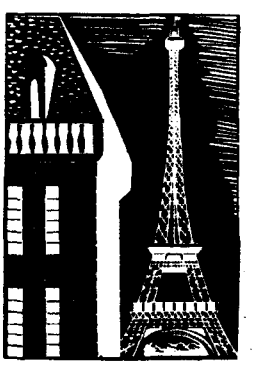
Elmer L. Henderson, president of the AMA, said last week that the election results "were very reassuring." Referring specifically to the defeat of Sen. Elbert D. Thomas (D, Utah) and Rep. Andrew J. Biemiller (D, Wis.), two of the staunchest supporters of the President's program, Dr. Henderson said that "tens of thousands of physicians" had a vital influence on the results. The 144,500 members of AMA contributed $3.6 million this year in $25 assessments for the "war chest" against the health program. Dr. Henderson revealed that the AMA has budgeted another $300,000 for its publicity representatives, extending their contract two more years.

The AMA has been listed as one of the top spenders ever since the Federal Lobbying Act went into effect. Lobby reports for the third quarter of 1950, released last week, showed that during the first nine months of this year the AMA spent $1,290,798. The AMA's National Education Campaign reported spending $814,547 more and distributed some 43,041,437 pieces of literature in the same period. The Chicago public relations firm of Whitaker & Baxter, which conducted the Education Campaign, listed expenditures of over $300,000. In addition, the AMA spent around $75,000 on Washington salaries, overhead, travel and communications.

AMA's spending spree shows some signs of backfiring, however. The concentrated two-week advertising campaign in October brought more attention to the health program than ever before. The shortage of doctors, emphasized by the doctor draft legislation necessitated by the Korean War, has caused critics to point out that the AMA blocked aid to medical schools legislation during the past session. Even James F. Byrnes, governor-elect of South Carolina, recently warned that "if the doctors do not get their own house in order, and if we don't train enough doctors so that competition exists among doctors, then the fight against socialized medicine may be lost."

"CRISIS" IN FRANCE

The week of the big Korean reverse found the French Government tottering as the result of moderate deputies in the Assembly supporting a cleverly-timed Communist attack on Socialist Defense Minister Jules Moch. The crisis had no relation to Korea, Germany or military budget. Its chief effect was to point out once again the capricious nature of French politics. At the end of the week the coalition cabinet of Socialists, MRP and Radical Socialists, under René Pleven, won a new vote of confidence by an open party vote in the Assembly.



The half - forgotten scandal that led Pleven to offer his Government's resignation arose from the indiscretions of two French generals, who in 1948 had allowed a highly-secret report on Indo-China to find its way into Viet - Minh hands. The incident had been investigated, a 188-page report presented to the Assembly and the generals cashiered. But the spy involved had been too fast for the French in fleeing to South America, where Jules Moch, then in charge of police, could not prosecute him. Catching the Government off balance, the Communists introduced a secret-ballot resolution demanding that Moch be brought to trial. Many right-wing and Center deputies joined in because of the opportunity to undercut Moch personally and the Socialists in general.

In protest, against the large-scale defection of their supposed allies in the Government coalition, the Socialist ministers resigned enmasse, followed shortly after by the rest of the cabinet.

When President Vincent Auriol refused to accept Pleven's resignation because of the international crises, the Premier rallied his forces and demanded a vote of confidence including an $80-billion increase in funds for defense.

The furor aroused by the fictitious Moch issue seemed to symbolize the widespread French unwillingness to focus on the crucial problems of threatening war. As Mao's troops swept southward, the deputies pursued their pet political projects, and belatedly adopted a resolution calling for "conversations . . . with the Government of China on the basis of the independence and unity of Korea" to remedy the "aggravation of the international situation."

Meanwhile, in London, where the North Atlantic Deputies were meeting in an attempt to agree on large-scale European rearmament, the French put forth some careful modifications of their original Pleven Plan position. They modified their previous insistence that European rearmament come into effect only after settlement of pending political and economic questions.

The French are now proposing a continental defense force made up of international divisions, within which national combat teams would be commanded by their own officers, leaving the way open for large German forces and even admitting German officers to positions of high command. Moch had previously been criticized in the US for insisting that no German units larger than battalions be formed. The French "feelers" were welcomed by impatient Americans, but any decisive action on Europe's defense awaits a final answer on how many troops the US sends across the Atlantic.

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STEEL—THE BRAKE ON OUR INDUSTRY

by A. G. Mezerik

IT IS NOT often that the big boys of American industry get to fighting among themselves in public. When they do, the rest of us are likely to have revealed to us some truths which had—up to that time—been carefully concealed. This is what happened on November 5 in Chicago at an otherwise prosaic meeting of the American Society for Metals.

Edward L. Ryerson, chairman of the Board of the great Inland Steel Company, was delivering an address in the traditional form. He waxed indignant at the very idea of a steel shortage. "For anyone to suggest that the steel industry should arbitrarily be required to increase its capacity by 20 to 30 million tons during the next two years . . . is to suggest a program . . . so unrealistic that it is sheer nonsense. . . . Our industry is an early target of an obvious campaign that will lead to socialization of American industry." Ryerson was giving forth with the old-fashioned harangue of the apostle of scarcity.

Another honored speaker at the same meeting was Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, the steel industry's biggest customer. Wilson also had a speech, released to the press well in advance of the meeting, and saying, in its widely-publicized advance form, exactly nothing. However Ryerson got under Wilson's skin. General Motors' production depends on steel and no one knows better than Wilson that steel is short. He reacted violently and spontaneously, without the benefit of public relations advice or Wall Street counsel. Steel executives, said Wilson, "ought to get the dust out of their eyes and go ahead with the rest of industry." He documented that case by pointing out: "The steel industry has expanded its capacity by only eight times since 1900, while the oil industry has expanded 30 times, the electric power industry has expanded its output by 70 times, the automobile industry about 2,000 times."

Prior to Charles E. Wilson's outburst, the prospects for large-scale expansion of the steel industry looked very dim indeed. They still are anything but bright because decisions relating to this most basic of all industries are being made by a handful of powerful men—all apostles of the scarce market and the guaranteed big profit. They like and encourage situations such as that which existed last year when Bethlehem's profits, the highest since 1929, were earned on less business than had been done in 1929, with a much smaller population. Scarcity policies have pushed last year's swollen steel profits up 72 percent for the first nine months of this year. A brand new—still unreleased—report in the hands of the Federal Trade Commission documents the monopoly in the steel industry which makes the policy of scarcity possible.

Among America's 1,000 largest companies are 41 iron and steel producers. Twenty-eight of these 41 companies are directly or indirectly interlocked. On the throne of the most basic of all industries, sits the giant US Steel Corporation. By itself—and without benefit of interlocks, direct or indirect—US Steel in 1945 controlled 35.2 percent of the capacity of the industry for making steel ingots and steel for castings. Including the interlocks, 54 percent of the entire steel industry can, according to the FTC report, be considered part of US Steel.

The maze of interlocks goes across to units of the steel industry, down to industrial customers and up to banks and insurance companies. Over decades these interlocks have had tremendous value in determining prices and production policies. Today they take on added significance, for in these meetings, programs of expansion—or their lack—are decided.

From all this, it should be obvious that Mr. Wilson could have talked to Mr. Ryerson any time in the rarefied atmosphere of the Bankers Club in New York, in the privacy and comfort of the Detroit Club or in the sacred precincts of Pittsburgh's most exclusive Country Club. He didn't. Perhaps for the moment the troubles of trying to build automobiles without steel weighed on him as heavily as did the difficulties of making bricks without straw on earlier builders. Perhaps, though less likely, Wilson had surmised that his own company's need for steel was typical of the country. Least likely of all is the surmise that Wilson had been influenced by the insistent and repeated arguments emanating—complete with proof—from Washington.

Had Wilson been listening in 1948, he could have heard Assistant Secretary of the Interior C. Girard Davidson demand more steel capacity at once. Instead of getting support then from men such as Wilson, Davidson was showered with charges of socialism and worse. However, he started something. The President of the United States in 1949, in his State of the Union Message, reiterated the Davidson demand. So urgent was the need for steel at that time, nearly two years ago, that the President proposed that the Government go into direct production of steel if the steelmasters continued in their refusal to expand the capacity of their mills. The steelmasters remained adamant, but the President did not carry out his threat.

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Then the Korean disaster hit us. The need for steel was altogether too obvious. Government handling of the doubled and redoubled needs was not auspicious. Placed in charge of steel policies was Secretary of Commerce Sawyer, who, apparently oblivious of the gravity of the shortage, began by blithely accepting the steel industry's own estimate of its ability to supply America's needs, thus almost exactly duplicating an earlier tragedy.

In 1940, a big-wig of industry, Gano Dunn, dogmatically stated that our steel production at that time, when steel capacity was 81 million tons, was adequate for all defense needs. He was more than 15 million tons short of being correct. Administration acceptance of that prognostication almost caused a national disaster. Sawyer, however, ignored this bit of history. He stormed up and down the country, fighting the battles for Big Steel and deriding all criticism. "There are those—outside—and even inside Government knowing little about business and with no responsibility for production of steel who will freely broadcast their opinions," Sawyer told the press.

But the country's need for steel was nipping at Sawyer's heels. On October 13, the Office of Defense Transportation announced that the need for steel was crippling our chances of building transportation. On the same day, Assistant Secretary Davidson again entered the fray, demanding a minimum of 120 million tons of steel capacity as against the present 93 million tons and the industry program of 10 million additional tons. The farmers were feeling the pinch. Mobilization Chief Stuart Symington, needled by shortages on every side, made an angry speech demanding more capacity. Secretary of the Interior Oscar Chapman, recognizing that the shortage of steel for the oil industry is "reaching alarming proportions," told the American Petroleum Institute that the steel shortage is "threatening both the national defense program and the civilian economy."

Industry, at long last, was also being heard from. The oil industry is yelling for pipe, without which it cannot move needed gas and oil. Its spokesmen complain bitterly that the steel companies are in no position to supply defense needs. On the West Coast an oil refiner, asked by his Government to make aviation gasoline, is completely stymied for lack of a steel tank basic to his operation. He cannot get as much as a promise of delivery from the steelmasters.

Independent producers, such as the Lone Star Steel Company of Texas, who wish to expand their facilities are up against a Washington setup dishearteningly familiar from the last war. The Government officers, charged with the authority to implement steel expansion are Big Steel's nearest and dearest friends. The independents are already shouting grievances. Their chorus of protest was brought to a climax by Wilson's demand that steel "Go ahead with the rest of industry."

Though the protest is becoming insistent it is far from certain that the banker-insurance-steelmaster combination will now proceed with an expansion program of 20 million tons, the minimum required to keep pace with the needs of the industries which depend on steel.

To date, the answer of the steelmasters to demands for expansion has been to vastly increase their appropriation for public relations. US Steel is spending money on another front also. The House Committee on Lobbying Activities unearthed a US Steel gift of $40,000 to the Foundation for Economic Education, which is mainly devoted to fighting Social Security, TVA, public power developments and other legislation designed to expand rather than curtail the total economy. Irving S. Olds, chairman of the Board of Directors of Big Steel, found time to discuss this kind of program with Leonard Read, president of the Foundation, although he has found neither the time to discuss a needed expansion program for his own industry nor the money to augment capacity.

No one can force Mr. Olds or his associates to act. The anti-trust laws have proved ineffective, controls are inadequate and the Government has not carried out its threat to build steel facilities if the industry remained stagnant. In this picture, only one course of action gives any promise. It boils down to the traditional "give 'em hell" treatment of monopoly to which Americans resort when they come to the end of their patience.

Steel is not just any article of commerce. It is the root of every one of our civilian and defense programs. There is now not one single locality in this entire country with sufficient excess electric power to install one additional aluminum factory. As a result the use of aluminum has been cut back by 35 percent. More electric power plants are dependent on the will to expand and on other more concrete factors. The companies which make electrical generating equipment are years behind in filling orders. These manufacturers agree that new capacity in their industries would not supply more finished goods unless heavy steel plate, sheet, tubes and pipe were available—which there are not because of insufficient steel capacity. Restriction of steel capacity is similarly crippling petroleum, transportation and indeed nearly every industry upon which we depend.

The old-fashioned steel men have built a walled circle of shortage inside of which are all the people of the country. Not only should the steel executives take Charles E. Wilson's advice, but the rest of America "ought to get the dust out of its eyes" and push steel "ahead with the rest of industry."

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WHY EUROPE HANGS BACK

by Percy Winner

THE SOVIET Government, we must assume, dictated the march of two Chinese-Communist armies into Korea. The UN armies are fighting Chinese troops, and under the terms of the Sino-Soviet Treaty China can bring Russia into the fray. Since this was predictable, does it mean that the Russians are ready to force the Third World War?

Until recently, Soviet involvement in world war has not been Stalin's objective. Stalin's purpose, on the contrary, has been to delay his world war long enough to break up the unity of the United Nations and to prepare the Soviet armies.

That line was laid out frankly and brutally by the French-Communist leader Waldeck-Rochet in a speech, widely reported and never denied, made to Communist Party officials on October 6:

> It is certain that if the Soviet Union intervened in Korea the war would soon be over and the Americans thrown into the sea. But it would start a world war which for the time being is contrary to the peace policy of the Soviet Union. We can be certain that a year of guaranteed peace is a year utilized to the utmost by the Soviet Union to reinforce its armies and those of the popular democracies. It is to permit this rearmament, this development of the Soviet Union's strength as well as of the strength of the popular democracies, that we must actively continue our propaganda in favor of peace. It is this movement for peace that will undermine the imperialist armies and delay the outbreak of the war. The Soviet Union will choose the right moment and the imperialists will have no say in the matter. You will see, therefore, how important it is to develop our action in favor of peace.

Since the statement was made, it has become more than ever clear that the purpose of the "year of guaranteed peace" has been to use the Communist "action in favor of peace" as a weapon against the West's rearmament. The immediate purpose of Soviet policy has been to accomplish outside the United Nations what can no longer be done inside the United Nations because of the American-sponsored shift of power from the Security Council to the General Assembly. That is to cripple collective security by attacking the basis of sound "Atlanticism"—the effective co-operation between the American Government and the *peoples* of Great Britain and France.

The Soviet political strategy has been based on the assumption that America has gone too fast and too far, for the common good of Western policy, in exploiting the effects of the Kremlin's own errors: the withdrawal of Soviet representation from the Security Council, and its connivance in the North Korean aggression. Two coordinated and interrelated Soviet interventions—Mao Tse-tung's attack in North Korea and Josef Stalin's intervention in the German political situation—have been intended to split British popular opinion away from the advanced position of American policy in Asia, and French popular opinion away from the similarly advanced position of American policy in Europe. The theory is that although the British and French governments may follow wherever Washington leads, the peoples of the two countries may balk. Russian propagandists and their puppets, therefore, have set out to accuse American policy before Western European public opinion of having misused and even betrayed the mandate of leadership acquired in the first phase of the Korean War.

In the changed and far more explosive situation caused by Chinese aggression in Korea, months spent by Soviet propagandists in spreading their peace line have served well. What chance is there today that the free nations can stand together against the pressures of Russia, the blunders of MacArthur and the horrors of a Third World War? In forcing a division among the free nations in Asia, Russia is relying on widespread hatred of Syngman Rhee, widespread distrust of Gen. Douglas MacArthur, the link between the two men and the apparent inability of President Truman to break that link.

The British are willing to believe that from the strictly military point of view MacArthur may have been the intellectually honest man Truman considers him, when he said that the United Nations forces had all but finished the Korean campaign before Mao's troops and material made their appearance. But British public opinion has never considered the Korean campaign—or the Asiatic situation in general—an essentially military problem. Despite the Government's acquiescence, there were serious doubts about crossing the 38th Parallel.

Events in Korea since the Parallel was crossed had a very bad press in England. Rhee's right-handed treatment of both UN directives and his own Parliament built up strong criticism not only in all parties but even more in all classes of the population. His barbarous treatment of the Korean people aroused such widespread indignation that the British could not feel committed emotionally to his cause. Tom Hopkinson, the editor of *Picture Post*, one of Britain's most important popular weeklies, chose to be discharged rather than agree to keep pictures of these atrocities out of the magazine.

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The independent conservative *Observer* wrote:

Syngman Rhee is unchecked in exercising what from all reports appears to be a police terror of the most barbarous kind. . . . Surely it is a matter of the utmost urgency for the United Nations to take control in Korea before irreparable harm is done to their reputation by a vindictive oriental tyrant, whose present constitutional credentials are as doubtful as his record of past misgovernment is glaring.

If any such action was taken by the UN commander it was not reported in Europe. Many statements and posed photographs persuaded Europeans that Rhee's chief protector was General MacArthur.

There were rumors that MacArthur had deliberately disobeyed orders in crossing the Isthmus Line, and this was said to have been a direct violation of assurances given to the Peking Government. These rumors were certainly without foundation, but many in Britain lost their enthusiasm for their Government's close co-operation with Washington.

The consistently anti-American *New Statesman and Nation* found support among friends of the US and of collective security when it wrote:

The danger is manifest that American and Commonwealth forces will be bogged down indefinitely in a profitless and endless war in the mountains of North Korea—with an inevitable risk that hotheads in Washington will advocate recourse to the atomic bomb as the only alternative to the draining away of America's strength. We still hope that, the results of the US elections notwithstanding, the US Administration will think twice before it forfeits what may be the last chance of averting world war.

In addition to MacArthur's actions, two elements in UN policy in Europe have caused great uneasiness here. They are the changes in Washington's attitude toward West Germany and Spain. The high-speed steam-roller methods used in connection with West German rearmament have cost Washington very large numbers of friends who had been won over to support of American policy during the early phases of the Korean campaign.

The Soviet bid for a big-power meeting on Germany coming after the Prague session of the satellites, was even less a surprise in Europe than Mao's intervention in Korea. American officials tended to brush it aside as mere propaganda. British officials went through the motions of agreement. But in terms of its effect on public opinion not only on the Continent but also in England the Soviet gesture was a shrewd and effective blow.

Not long ago, the views of the *New Statesman* were wholly unrepresentative of British public opinion. And Russia, for all its 200 divisions, was forced to speak through the ragged little band of Communists in the Partisans of Peace whom Attlee bundled off to Warsaw. Now the USSR no longer counts on these voices for "action in favor of peace." The 22 Labour members of the British House of Commons, who petitioned for British counter-proposals on foreign policy and for the establishment of a "no further" line of military advance of the UN forces in Korea, were not fellow travelers nor were the 41 additional Labour members who put down a motion calling on the Government to press for an early settlement of differences between the West and the East.

It is in France, however, that the Soviet interventions in Germany and China have been most successful as wedges between public opinion and the advanced positions to which American policy has raced. For it is in France that the popular soil is most fertile for the seeds of Soviet peace propaganda. The reason, says the New York *Times* sadly, is lack of French greatness, lack of French leadership and—worst of all in the category of French values—lack of lucid foresight. The *Times* recently berated the French for the "powerful element of escapism in French policy" assuring them that "our road is the only one worth following." It added:

"We cannot say that it is a safe, a short or an easy road, but we can surely claim that it is the way of honor and decency, the only road that is a free one and that it leads toward liberty for all countries and all peoples."

All this may be true from the perspective of Forty-third Street in New York. French hearts and consciences however remain unmoved. The French Premier René Pleven had practically invited Stalin's bid for a conference on Germany. When the bid was made, nearly all the newspapers in France welcomed it in one way or another. For French public opinion was stirred up about German rearmament—and American methods of bringing it about—far more than most Americans can imagine. It is rather soon for Germans to be accepted willingly as the comrades in arms of Frenchmen from Montelimar, Nancy, Oradour, Figeac and other martyred cities. Soviet aggression may be a threat of an imminent tomorrow. Soviet propaganda today points out that in another war German units may be commanded by General X who in 1943 was stationed in Lille and shot so many hostages—while German Regiment Y includes the officers and the former Sturmbahnfeuhrer of the Waffen-SS who were responsible for so many war crimes.

One of the factors which has most strongly reinforced the resistance of French opinion to German rearmament and its implications is the American-sponsored United Nations action on Spain. Secretary Acheson only last year said that the 1946 resolution of the General Assembly has become a symbol of the Western governments' disapproval of a regime installed by Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini, and representing a Fascist dicta-

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torship denying human rights. He expressed the opinion that a vote to repeal the resolution would be taken as "a symbol of the fact that after all we do not care much about these rights." But now Acheson seems to believe that the rights are less important than what he calls "orderly international intercourse."

The phrase is not entirely new in France. Whatever the Pleven Government may or may not do to accept for France the role of becoming the link between Spain and Western Germany, large sections of French opinion are bitterly opposed to such a role. They are only slightly less opposed to the American policy of embracing the dictator who was responsible for Guernica. For a Madrid-Bonn link brings up memories of the Rome-Berlin axis. After the UN action on Spain, the dangers of German rearmament have become political as well as military. The prospect of being flanked by Spaniards as well as by Germans has made the at best hesitant support in France for an all-European army slip away. And even in England, public sentiment on the issue has recently changed for the worse, from the American official point of view. There is now support well outside the ranks of Labour for the position of Kurt Schumacher that German rearmament should follow, not precede, the building up of a really large and dependably democratic American military force in Europe. Yet if there is one lesson which Europeans draw from the American elections it is that American public opinion rebels at furnishing the classic cannon fodder of tomorrow's big war—the infantry. Europeans suppose that the Americans, feeling betrayed in their good will to Europe as represented by economic generosity, are bitter about the unwillingness of the Europeans to share the bitter burden of lost lives. And Europeans conclude that the US will seek a solution in the use of new weapons, including the atom bomb, against the Chinese. They fear that Soviet bombs will be dropped in return, not on Japan, or America, but on Europe.

Finally, public opinion in Western Europe has been shaken by the contrast between US invocation of the necessity of Atlantic unity and the failure of the US to consult the British and French governments before taking steps that greatly increase the need for unity and the threats to Western Europe.

Public opinion could understand the military reasons for launching an offensive without full consultation. But surprise is the mildest description of the reaction to the apparent fact that neither the British nor the French foreign office was consulted in advance of MacArthur's shattering communique admitting his defeat or Austin's move to brand China as an aggressor against the UN. Newspapers in London and Paris have played up Acheson's new stress on the defense of Europe. They add "We are all in the same boat." Their readers talk of getting out of the boat before it casts them on the rocks of a war in which an undefended Europe is exposed to the full force of the Red army. As always in a time of crisis the British reaction is one of self-discipline and restraint. In Paris there has been a wave of semi-hysteria of which the center is poisonous and barren speculation concerning Soviet occupation or surrender and capitulation to a Communist dictatorship under French puppets of the USSR.

Negotiation, patience, compromise, conciliation, even humiliation may be the price of continued parternership between the US and its European allies. Yet unless beneath all these qualities there is boldness and resolution and the willingness to take risks under threat of aggression, all will be lost. As war moves closer, and risks mount, the danger in France is of a revival of an even more extreme form of neutralism than the kind that existed before the Soviets made their mistakes in the UN and in Korea. Moreover, there is the new danger of neutralist "co-operation" between the French and other European peoples. The *Monde* of Paris minces no words:

> If France hesitates so much about going along to the logical consequences of the Atlantic process—that is, the rearmament of Germany and the acceptance of Spain as a partner—she cannot ignore the fact that between this refusal and the other extreme of France's inclusion in the Soviet bloc, the only intermediary position is the demilitarization of Germany—and of this, the logical consequence is—whether one likes it or not, and no matter by what name one calls it—the neutralization of Europe.

On its face value, this implies that Mao's intervention in Korea is pinning down American troops in Asia at precisely the time when Stalin's intervention in Germany makes their presence in Europe more necessary.

The sum total of the Western European situation during the last month or two is that American policy, by going forward too quickly and too far in order to take fullest advantage of the Soviet's errors, has itself made serious errors which the Kremlin is exploiting. Because the Americans have acted on the theory that preventive surgery of all obstacles to immediate rearmament—political, moral and psychological—is urgently dictated by the world situation, the Soviets have been able to do even more of their notorious bloodletting.

If, as seems probable, Soviet intentions are still to delay the war until the UN front is broken, the US must answer by a policy of continued strength and boldness, coupled with more patience, preparation and understanding.

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HOW CAN WE HELP ASIA?

by Michael Straight

REPUBLICAN leaders have called for a re-examination of our foreign policy. They have every right to make such a demand. Our position, as Secretary Acheson has said, is that of "the sound navigator, who on a long flight checks his course by the sun and the stars."

In our long flight toward a free world victory, we are none the less following different courses in Europe and in Asia.

In Europe we may need to re-examine the future of European federation and its relation to the UN. Yet work in progress, in recovery and preparedness cannot be interrupted by sudden changes in the flight plan.

In Asia in contrast, there is no comparable work in progress in economic and military programs in which the US is directly involved. Asia is the historic area of concern of the Republican Party. And Asia is where a re-examination of US policy can lead to a new start.

The problem in Asia is to relate short-range necessities to long-range needs: to reconcile the demands of our people for quick, superficial results with the age-old and continuing problems that confront the Asian nations.

In his great speech of January 12, Acheson constructed our long-range policy in Asia on these assumptions:

Asia is in revolt against economic misery and foreign rule. The US can survive in Asia only if we ride with this revolution.

Russia is bucking this revolution by seeking to rule Asia. Communism is the agent of Soviet imperialism.

We must foreswear imperialism in Asia in order to expose and help to defeat Soviet imperialism.

Our interest is in Asians as people. We affirm their right "to develop in their own way, making their own mistakes, reaching their own triumphs, but acting under their own responsibility."

We must accept responsibility for the defense of the Northern Pacific area against attack. We must hold a defensive perimeter across the Pacific. We must contribute to the defenses of the South Pacific area.

We must at the same time limit our responsibilities and our contributions, recognizing that "American assistance can be effective when it is the missing component in a situation which might otherwise be solved."

These assumptions were part of a policy intended to bring our commitments into balance with our resources and our fear of Communism into balance with Asia's fear of the West. It assumed that if we showed self-restraint, Soviet pressures would ultimately bring Asia to our side.

It was a correct interpretation of Asia's mood and a brilliant first-approximation of our national interest in Asia. Yet it was unsound. It underestimated the power of Communism in Asia. It overestimated the stability of non-Communist states. Its assumption that Asians must be allowed to make their own mistakes reflected an old and complacent notion that nothing that Asians do can hurt us very much. The "mistakes" made by the North Korean and Chinese Communist armies prove the contrary. And now to Russian Imperialism is added the new imperialism of Communist China in its self-appointed role of "liberating" the "oppressed" peoples who live around its 15,000-mile frontier.

Acting in response to Communist pressures, we have sent economic aid to South Asia and military aid to Indo-China. Yet our action has been uncoordinated and inadequate. We are moving in Asia through a time of mounting needs and makeshift remedies comparable to the months in Europe that preceded the Marshall Plan. Today a constructive re-examination that does not look at 12 hundred million Asians in terms of the careers of Chiang Kai-shek and his wife is certain to add to Acheson's analysis of Asia these further assumptions:

The non-Communist governments are failing to keep pace with their tasks.

The Communist regimes are turning to internal oppression and external aggression.

The Communist strategy has shifted in emphasis from subversion to armed force as the means of seizing power.

Substantial coordinated aid is necessary to help Asian independence and freedom.

Aid, of course, must be military and economic: one cannot substitute for the other. In a steadily deteriorating situation, this is roughly true:

The sooner we extend aid, the more we can stress economic as against military assistance, and the less we will have to give.

The longer we delay aid, the more we must stress military assistance, including manpower, and the more we will have to give.

The need for aid, of course, varies nation by nation. At one extreme are nations where war is raging. Their need is for military equipment and relief supplies; their capacity to absorb productive capital is small.

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At the other extreme, nations such as Thailand, with long traditions of independence and favorable balances of trade, can obtain long-term loans for all their needs.

A third group of nations in the Near East are in a state of economic stagnation. Their populations are stable. Their dollar reserves are adequate. For them the price of progress is better land tenure and social reform. Their principal short-range need is for technical assistance in killing flies, combatting disease, training educators and technicians and raising agricultural yields.

In contrast India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and to a lesser extent Burma, Malaya and Indonesia, are threatened by an intolerable gap between rising population and static production. They have set out to close this gap by ambitious economic development projects. The ability of these peoples to withstand famine and revolution and to move toward democracy turns very largely on their capacity to carry these projects through.

The new report of the Commonwealth Consultative Committee on South and Southeast Asia, known as the Colombo Plan, summarizes the development programs undertaken by India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Malaya. Their total cost is $5 billion, of which $3 billion will be internally financed. An additional $700 million will be met by the release of sterling balances held in Britain. The balance can be made up only by US aid.

How is aid to be extended? "Primary reliance for public development loans," the Gray Report argues "should be placed upon the International Bank." It can loan a net sum of $400 million a year. "The Export-Import Bank," Gray adds, "must continue to play an important role." Gray concludes that it could lend $400 million a year if Congress expands its lending authority by $1.5 billion to a total of $5 billion.

In addition to these loans, US aid is flowing to Asia in grants. Three to four hundred million dollars worth of military equipment will be sent this year and next to Indo-China under the Mutual Defense Assistance Program. A $50-million aid program has been carried out by ECA in the China area. The Point Four appropriations for technical assistance will provide additional help.

These programs are worthwhile but insufficient. The bank loans are for all the underdeveloped areas and cannot be justified for urgently needed development projects which will not increase dollar exports. Military assistance is a bucket of water thrown on a blaze and of little use where other fires are smoldering. The ECA grant runs out this year. The Point Four authorization is infinitesimal and offers capital and materials only for demonstration purposes.

For these reasons, a constructive re-examination of US policy is likely to conclude that Congress should authorize an aid program of $500 million a year for the underdeveloped areas. Two hundred million would go to India; an additional $100 million would be divided between Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon.

This is a small program in comparison to the Marshall Plan and the MDAP. But it comes at a time of mounting economic pressure on our own standard of life. It is a vital program, and yet if it is offered for the wrong purposes, it can cause infinite harm.

Private enterprise invests abroad to earn a profit; the World Bank, to obtain a commercial return. The Export-Import Bank offers lines of credit to friendly governments and allows them to expire if no worthy projects are developed. The Defense Department sends supplies to hold a military line. All these purposes are recognized in Asia and accepted for what they are.

Congress, in contrast, authorizes aid because it advances our national interest. Our national interest is obscure and subject to swiftly changing interpretations.

Why, today, would the 82nd Congress offer $300 million a year to South Asia? That question needs to be faced before debate begins.

The 80th Congress authorized a great program of aid in the Marshall Plan. Congress found then that "the existing situation in Europe endangers the establishment of a lasting peace, the general welfare and national interest of the United States, and the attainment of the objectives of the United Nations." It added that "the restoration or maintenance in European countries of principles of individual liberty, free institutions and genuine independence rests largely upon the establishment of sound economic conditions." It called for "a plan of European recovery, based on a strong production effort, the expansion of foreign trade, the maintenance of internal financial stability and the development of economic co-operation." The Congress pledged support of this program through the Marshall Plan.

There is a need in Asia for the sound of the trumpet. But there is no prospect for a program comparable to the Marshall Plan. Nationalism in Europe was a century past its peak when Marshall's call for co-operation was sounded. The nations of Europe were accustomed to international staffwork, and close relationship with each other. They were ready to welcome as advisers men who sprang from European stock.

Asia in contrast is deeply divided internally. Its binding tie is suspicion of outside intervention. Its governments are untrained in working together, unsympathetic to many American values, and unready to face the implications of unity with an embattled West. Nor is there a comparable need for co-operation within the region.

A technical assistance program in Asia should be carried through by the United Nations and used to build

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support for the UN. An aid program may be related to the Colombo Plan or a more inclusive regional conference. But its administration will have to be direct. It cannot be used to solve major political problems. It must be controlled solely to ensure that funds are used for the purpose for which they are given.

If aid is offered today in order to tie Asia to the West, then Asia will refuse the aid. If it is given to stop communism, it may do more harm than good. If it is to raise living standards, it will fail since this task is far beyond our capacity. If it is to create good will for the US, it is more likely to create ill-will.

A people as sophisticated as the French found it hard during debates on ECA to assess the relative importance of support of leaders like Senator Lodge and crackpots like Senator Cain. The British were needlessly alarmed by warnings of publicity seekers like Harold Stassen against further nationalization. All these sources of friction were greatly intensified because newspapers overseas twisted expressions of opinion here to weaken their own governments and serve their own interests. If this was true in Europe, Asia is a thousand times more sensitive. A debate on aid for Asia as crass and insulting as recent debates on ECA would act as incitement to violence against Americans in India and Pakistan.

We cannot avoid Congressional debate. But we can enter debate with a clearer understanding of our national interest in Asia.

Our main interest at this moment is in stable governments in Asia: secure in the support of their peoples, enlightened and competent in their efforts to overcome unendurable poverty, strong in their determination to resist aggression. We cannot create stable governments, but where governments exist that are potentially stable our first task is to strengthen them. Since we cannot raise individual incomes by our own efforts in Asia, the purpose of our aid is to strengthen governments which will take steps that will lead eventually to higher living standards.

Strength and stability are more important to us in the immediate future than the outward trappings of democracy. We must assume that the representative leaders of Asia are the best judges of how and when the basic values of democracy will find expression in Asia. If stability requires a slower rate of development toward democracy than we think proper because of Asia's own traditions and needs, then continuous development in the right direction is more important for us than the outward symbols of democracy achieved at the cost of inward reaction and decay. And certainly, if the price of stability in the governments of Asia is independence of the West, then one stable and independent nation in Asia is worth a dozen parasitic governments that "fawn" on the US with simulated affection and would collapse if they could not lean on us for support.

This lowering of our sights in Asia involves no lowering of ultimate objectives. It does not mean that we should turn a blind eye to corruption or appeasement or keep silent in the face of mob violence and police terror. The rules of government certainly cannot apply to individual Americans who must fight with all their power and will for democratic values. As a nation, however, we must start by recognizing the present weakness of the governments of non-Communist Asia. Their self confidence cannot be built by overzealous advisers who deprive them of responsibilities which they must shoulder. And their ambitions for democracy are not furthered by insisting on adherence to institutions beyond their understanding and tasks beyond their capacity to fulfill. No government feels secure when another government is peering over its shoulder, however well intentioned the onlooker may be. A careful study of the White Paper suggests that, leaving the Communists aside, China might have moved faster toward democracy without well-meaning pressures from our advisers.

Aid of course is not the whole story. The responsibility of each one of us doesn't end when Congress gives funds. I spent one evening in India with a hard pressed civil servant. His shelves were loaded with the classics of democracy. "I am becoming an authoritarian," he confessed. I suggested aid as one solution. "American supplies are important," he answered. "Americans are more important as a leaven of enthusiasm and faith."

The next day I went to a tractor repair station with a young Allis-Chalmers mechanic from Milwaukee. He'd never dreamed of going to India. If he had to lecture on democracy, he would find no words. He believed in tractors. He crawled around under the tractors with the student mechanics. He taught them, and he showed them friendship and respect. He was rough with each one in private, never before the others. He transmitted to them his enthusiasm and faith. The previous day two students, fiddling with a battery, set themselves on fire in a pool of blazing oil. He rolled on them and the fire, smothering it with his own body. That afternoon they were holding a party in his honor.

We are a young nation, full of confidence and with a capacity for dedication. A band of young Americans eager to learn from Asia, and dedicated to public service, respecting Asia's traditions and thrilled by its challenge, can accomplish great good. A year or two may leave them worn out and embittered. Others will have to take their place. We need volunteers. For in Asia above all, strength in machines and strength in guns are and will always be second to strength of the human spirit.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *MacArthur Talks Too Much*

No American would be so blind to the facts or so prejudiced as to deny that, on more than one occasion, General MacArthur has shown real flashes of genius as a field commander. But he talks too much. It is one thing for a general to encourage his troops so that their morale may be high on the eve of an impending battle. But it is quite another thing to tell the world in advance that a certain objective will be attained within a given time, or that a battle is about to be undertaken that will end all battles in the war being waged.

Nor should a general play politics or try to usurp from the President the conduct of foreign affairs. MacArthur has done both. To begin with, he was MacArthur the Un-ready when the North Koreans invaded South Korea. Fortunately for him, it was possible to stabilize the UN line with the aid of the Navy and the Air Force. A brilliant and daring landing was made well beyond the North Korean line. Seoul was recaptured and hundreds of thousands of North Korean troops were apparently surrounded. The remnants of the North Korean army was driven north of the 38th Parallel. The army of the UN had achieved its original objective which was to clear South Korea of enemies.

At this point, many Americans felt that there should be a carefully-considered definition of our final objective. They believed that the UN should call upon all Koreans to compose their difficulties, and if they failed to do so Pandit Nehru of India should be asked to mediate the differences between the belligerents. But apparently MacArthur, saturated with self-esteem, as usual, and exalted by the clackings of political partisans of the minuscule mentality of Harold E. Stassen and Joseph R. McCarthy, saw an opportunity to destroy Communism via China and thus become the greatest military hero that the world had ever seen. Why should "The MacArthur" demean himself by asking for orders or by deferring to inferior men who, by accident, happened to outrank him?

MacArthur's troops, excepting only those of South Korea, were held briefly south of the 38th Parallel, but the South Koreans, either on their own or under the encouragement of MacArthur, pushed across the important Parallel in pursuit of North Korean troops who, after all, had not been bottled up south of Seoul. At the time when the diplomats should have taken over, Acheson hesitated, and MacArthur brazenly began to exercise political power in the Far East. It was another instance of filling a vacuum. Without waiting for the UN and without even consulting his Commander-in-Chief, the President, who alone under our Constitution has the power to conduct foreign relations, MacArthur flew to Formosa to kiss the hand of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek. Following this, American supplies, unauthorized by Washington, began to flow to the grafting and corrupt Nationalistic Junta that holds Formosa by the strength of the American fleet.

When this news began to leak and Communist China became alarmed as to the ultimate designs of MacArthur, Truman made the dangerous trip to Wake Island to tell the over-weening MacArthur that the conduct of diplomatic affairs still belonged to the President. Instead of running the risk of the flight to Wake Island, President Truman should have replaced MacArthur with a more responsible general such as Eisenhower who, like MacArthur, knows how to fight but who has the additional virtue of knowing when not to talk. But a tough political fight was on, and reckless Republicans demanded that the President, not a Republican, strip himself of his Constitutional power to conduct foreign affairs in favor of MacArthur, a self-conscious Republican.

As this is being written, MacArthur's chickens have been coming home to roost. The United States faces a deadlier peril than at the time of Pearl Harbor. Insubordinately, MacArthur, despite outspoken warnings from Communist China, had been deliberately inching not only the United States but the United Nations forward into a war that did not have to be fought and from which we could not hope to disentangle ourselves for an unpredictable period. Establishment of a neutral zone in Korea might have prevented war.

Of course, MacArthur and his hobbledygee sycophants who have been thrusting knives into the United States Constitution will try to place the blame elsewhere—where it does not belong. In fact, MacArthur is already doing so. Since the disaster in North Korea that MacArthur kept asking for, he discovered that his good clean funning, consisting of "comments passed between my field commanders and myself in a jocular vein" had been "exaggerated" into a prediction that "the boys will be home from Korea by Christmas." It may take MacArthur a long time to set the "exaggeration" straight.

If we become deeply involved in a war with Communist China, as seems to be in prospect, it will cost America and the world more than we can afford. It will postpone world peace indefinitely, perhaps finally. MacArthur calls it "a new war." He ought to know.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

"Equally A Want of Books and Men"

by Irwin Edman

A CHRISTMAS LIST of books in a journal published for what Mencken used to call "the civilized minority" may presumably be somewhat different from a commercial roster attempting to be all things to all publishers. It resembles more closely the sort of memorandum one might make for one's self in anticipation of a period of enforced idleness—a list that would both pass the time and improve it. Even the *attempt* to make such a list prompts reconsideration of what there is in the current offerings to solicit one's imagination, to open up vistas in literature or knowledge that one could explore in the leisure time thus wishfully provided. A book list is a fantasy of what one would choose if one were given a large gift certificate, on the condition it be spent mostly on current publications. One speculates on what books to give to one's friends, and since it is a Christmas list, one estimates what sort of Christmas garland one could make for one's self from the sprigs the publishers provide.

It is easy enough to make out an imaginary list for a perfect literary Christmas. There would be one or two or three novels anyway, serious works of art that had that magical transmutation which renders a "mere story" somehow a comment on life and an intensified revelation of it. E. M. Forster provided the qualitative test when he remarked, in *Aspects of Fiction,* that at the close of a fine novel, as at the close of the Beethoven Fifth, something more has been said than is in any of the single notes. There would be at least one discovery, the work of a young master, or a new and masterly work by a veteran. Genius is, of course, a commonplace in publishers' announcements, and this season is no exception, though the advertisements today do not use the words masterpiece and classic as frequently as heretofore.

If there is a top-flight novel current, I have missed even rumors of it. Budd Schulberg's *The Disenchanted* is serious in intention. It tries to study the decay of an artistic talent, clearly meant to be Scott Fitzgerald, and has at its core the serious theme of what happens to an artist in a spiritually cheap culture. But though it is largely about a real character, everything is credible in it save the portrait of the artist. As for Hemingway, despite John O'Hara's now famous pronouncement, the book reads like the parody of a once fine talent. I have tried one newcomer, *The Trouble of One House*, by Brendan Gill; it is touching, true and well done, but has not the authentic note of a new greatness come upon the world.

Certainly there has not been, to my knowledge, a single book this autumn in which one recognized the authentic signature of creative talent, or even of expertly competent writing, qualities that one identifies as surely as one detects the dial tone on the telephone. Well, perhaps it is not necessary (simply because the novels always come first on the best-seller list) to look for first-rate art, first-rate edification, even first-rate entertainment in fiction only. Perhaps in that vast domain of writing, for which no less bleak, no more positive a word than non-fiction has been found, one will find what one wants. But what does one want in any season in addition to distinguished works by old and young masters? Some book of ideas, say, that will start the minds of men in a new and possibly exciting reconsideration of their world, perhaps even a hopeful reconsideration of life, of society, of the universe. Not some packet of self-help or a screed of how-to-ness, no *Peace of Mind* or *Peace of Soul*, not even *The Mature Mind*, a more civilized treatise in the same too easy genre. What one looks for is a book that will open a new, deep revelation, as a generation ago Bergson's *Creative Evolution* did for a large literate public, as twenty years ago Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World* did for both philosophers and laity, as James's *Pragmatism* did even earlier.

What have we to show this season, or even for six months past? *Worlds in Collision*, a shabby piece of pseudo-science which it seems impossible that even its author believes, and almost as incredible that here and there some doctor of science or of philosophy should have taken it seriously; *Dianetics*, the new streamlined Los Angeles self-psychoanalysis which has become a mild fad even among those who can generally be counted on for some critical discrimination.

Why is it, the question arises, that every year or so the American reading public buys in carload lots, if it does not actually read, some work, often unintelligible, of dubious validity, that pretends to solve in a single volume all the problems of this and other ages? Once it was Northrup's *The Meeting of East and West*, in which we were told that the intuition of the East and the intellection of the West, if somehow fused, would resolve all the issues that divide the world. Another season and it was Toynbee, who, after allegedly examining twenty-six civilizations, came to the conclusion which he had obviously started out with in advance, that the world is moving to fulfillment in God (Anglican) who is Love (Church of England). I suspect that the reason the public so often turns to these grandiose volumes of easy dogmas is that in a world full of problems from the niggling to the cosmic, a craving arises for a dreamed solution, a liberating hypothesis, some answer to the riddles of politics and international relations, to the riddle of the universe itself. Meanwhile, quiet books of analysis get overlooked, because their

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claims, their premises, their promises are less magniloquent. For example, Crane Brinton's *Ideas and Men* is a brilliant account of the leading ideas and their history in the Western world, and a shrewd discussion of the relation of ideas to men, of hypotheses to history. And Bertrand Russell's little book, *Authority and the Individual*, tells more about the central conflicts of our times than many heavier tomes. Finally, Stuart Hughes published last year, in *An Essay for Our Time*, a modest brochure cutting to issues deeper than any momentary crisis.

There is always the chance, of course, that some book brushed aside or ignored carries the hint of revelation, a central act of insight for our time or for any time. One looks over the current lists trying to guess what prophetic marvel may have been neglected. Not, surely, Saint-Exupéry's posthumous *The Wisdom of the Sands*, extreme right-wing politics dressed up in heavy clothes of obscurantist mysticism. Not surely *Worlds in Collision* or *Dianetics*. Norbert Wiener's *The Human Use of Human Beings*, a brilliant consideration of the implications, for good or evil, of that machinery which will render mind as well as muscle gratuitous, is nearer the thing one seeks. Dr. Wiener, of *Cybernetics* fame, opens up the dreadful possibility of a *machine à gouverner* in which a few sinister leaders might pushbutton all of us around. But arresting as are his suggestions, what he has given us is the loose makings of a first-rate book, not a book finely and finally made.

To readers over fifty, the current lists are remarkable for the number of volumes trading on nostalgia and for the books that begin to explain those years which those of us in middle age (or older) are shocked to realize are already history. Thus to read *The Letters of Ezra Pound*, especially his early letters, is to have a tragedy given its natural genesis and to see even in the midst of a great early talent the seeds of decay. Already there are—or is it only hindsight?—in the early letters signs of a passionate lover of poetry rebelling against a culture philistine and material, marks of a rebellion that was to turn into madness. Another esthete, and something of an artist, too, Sir Osbert Sitwell, writes his baroque reminiscences into Volume Five, but this final volume parades as "noble essences" still living friends of his for whom a more modest term might have been wiser. Alistair Cooke, in *A Generation on Trial*, not only takes up the Hiss trial but makes it a parable of the history of liberals for the past generation. Jonathan Daniels writes a book, *The Man of Independence*, that tries — already — to place President Truman in history.

Are these books for all time? Are they books that will live long enough so that even five years from now they will not seem badly dated? It needs to be recognized, perhaps, that many volumes these days that are called books are merely extended pamphlets, which the movement of world events renders faintly antique before they are processed through the binderies. Not only nonfiction but fiction attempts to instruct us promptly about what we need for the instant to know about Korea, or if the headlines turn to China, about China, or about gang war and soil erosion, about social security and industrialized farming.

One turns wistfully to books in which the eternal becomes alive in us, or in which the moments of those who have never lived at all, save in the author's imagination, become at once present and eternal. One looks, in short, not too hopefully in the current lists for works of art. Is it the sense of having come upon one that makes certain "revived" works so special a delight? Trollope's *The Way We Live Now*, about the vanished world of nineteenth-century England, is a book that simply will not vanish. In its very matter-of-factness, it elevates fact to the eternity of a well-made fiction. It is for something like the same reason that James Thurber's little fantasy, *The Thirteen Clocks*, gives so pure a pleasure; one feels that the pleasure would have the same purity at any time in almost any state of the world short of pure annihilation. What the current lists lack most, perhaps, is poetry in the wide, Greek sense: essays, novels, verse itself, speculation that lifts the spirit free for a moment into intensified awareness, into clarity, into delight.

But the spirit is lifted sometimes by a very modest, by a quietly exquisite, or subtly limited book, by precisely the kind of book that it is economically almost impossible (or so American publishers claim) to publish in these days of high costs. Only once in a generation does a poet become a best-seller (and not always the best poet). And books of quiet charm, the special pleasures of intellectual exploration, or musing erudition, where do these appear on the book lists? How often does one see a volume of essays or of unpretentious humor? Luckily Ogden Nash attracts enough readers to find a publisher. His *Family Reunion* of this season is more than a matter of trick rhymes; it is a gentle and wise study of the little and big difficulties and *délices* of family life. But the experiments in verse or ideas, the small adventures into off-center reaches of fancy and imagination, the muse of memory and of soliloquy—one looks in vain for these on this year's book counters. *Lift Up Your Heart* shouts the title of Monsignor Fulton Sheen's new book. But of books that *do* lift up the heart there are few. Elizabeth Bowen's *Collected Impressions* do; so do passages of affirmation and gayety in Gilbert Highet's *The Art of Teaching*. So do the essays of John Mason Brown in *Still Seeing Things*, in which that wise and amiable writer not only sees but thinks about the stage and the stage that is a world. In its scabrous and coxcomb way, Boswell's lately published *London Journal* lifts up the heart, too, for whatever the terms, there is life here and love of life and genius in evoking it. And a new and convenient one-volume Plutarch reminds us how lives of great men may remind us that, when an inspired writer tells them, the greatness in the writing may transcend the greatness portrayed.

One looks, perhaps not altogether in vain, for some passage in a book that speaks incisively to the mind and seems to clear away some of the almost deliberate obscurantism now epidemic. There is such a passage, I think, to be

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found in Crane Brinton's *Ideas and Men*. It occurs after he has reviewed the history of the chief intellectual episodes of the West: "In the perspective of Western intellectual history we can see that many of the problems that seem to our alarmists so new, so demanding of intellectual solution, are in fact very old problems that men and women of Western culture have managed to survive without solving." One is tempted to quote Mr. Brinton further, for he has shrewd things to say about the inadequacy of the abstract faiths of the modern intellectual, faiths no less inadequate, perhaps, than the last sentence of Monsignor Sheen, who tells us that "love is our destiny." Love, too, can be an abstraction. One is tempted to quote from Erich Fromm's *Psychoanalysis and Religion*, in which the author reminds us that there is wisdom in the language of the old religions, but it is in the human insights, not in the supernatural dogmas. There is a temptation, finally, to quote from Edmund Wilson's play, "The Little Blue Light," in which one of the characters says, "the Reds, who are, of course, the extreme right." But quote as one will, there is no sovereign aphorism to be found. The age is too complex even for a brilliant formula.

Well, there isn't a great deal in the current offerings to set the spirit free. But, if winter comes, can spring (and its lists) be far behind? And, who knows, by June we may stumble on the incandescent tale, the searching vision, the master idea. It has happened before in American literature. Next year may be the Annus Mirabilis.

ADVICE TO THE HUNGRY READER

by Sidney E. Lind

NOT TOO MANY years ago, college anthologies almost invariably offered, with appalling propriety and lack of imagination, the best that had been thought or said in our culture—provided the expression were no more recent than the reign of Victoria. As additional collections appeared, however, publishers realized that the traditional approach would no longer suffice. Even in supposedly sequestered halls of learning the law of supply and demand and the pressures of competition were operative: teachers were becoming more and more critical in their selection of texts for general and special courses.

After World War II, with colleges swollen by the influx of GI students, publishers issued more texts and teachers became even more selective. This meant that anthologists had to dig for fresh and vital material as never before. And so, with enormous industry, enthusiasm and diligence, the compilers have been searching the world of letters. No periodical, however obscure or ephemeral, is overlooked. First-rate writing, fiction and non-fiction, which once enjoyed a brief success of esteem, is resurrected in part or in whole. Essays of abiding value are brought up once again to the light of day they had so scantily glimpsed in a fugitive volume. Plays, especially modern and recent ones, are printed, perhaps for the first time, and made available to a far more diversified audience than had witnessed the theatrical productions.

Along with the new come the old and not so old. The shift of emphasis to the writing of the last half-century has not blinded anthologists to earlier literature, but the need for greater originality has forced them to sharpen their wits as well as their critical powers. Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden or Wordsworth may still be represented, but now by an appropriate selection with relevant application. The bulk so frequently printed for bulk's sake has been winnowed, made subservient to a pointed idea around which a section of the volume has been organized.

Naturally, different courses demand different materials, and the greater academic emphasis on modern literature inclines the anthologist to weight his collection with contemporary selections. Consequently, certain authors have become nearly standard for inclusion. To take the most obvious examples, it is a rare short-story collection that does not have a Hemingway or Faulkner specimen. But standard inclusions are limited by the hazard of duplication, and it is the happy, though ironic, lot of a number of fine craftsmen that their stories often earn more from reprinting than they did in the original edition. Not the least value of the anthologies, moreover, is that they tempt a reader to go searching for a neglected volume.

If they provide first-rate literature in such compact and inexpensive form, why hasn't greater public notice been taken of anthologies? There are two answers: anthologies designed for school use are among the most lavishly advertised of books, but only in academic circles, and the advertising is directed at the instructor. Also, it seems to be axiomatic in publishing that textbooks cannot be sold successfully to the public; the general reader simply will not buy them. Publishers occasionally strip an anthology of its scholarly and critical notes, issue it as a trade book, perhaps with a less academic title and binding but with contents intact, and raise its price to conform with trade customs. Or a publisher may simply place a dust jacket on a collection and send it forth masked as a general trade edition, again at a higher price. An alert reader will not be cozened by these tactics; he will go to his bookseller—or to a college bookstore—and demand the anthology in its pristine, ridiculously inexpensive, state. In that case, the academic apparatus, the notes, the questions pointing up the significance of the selections, and the suggestions for further reading, may even profit him, for he has no teacher to guide him.

As an example of what one can get for his money, the following collection is not extraordinary, but rather representative of the best. *A Complete College Reader*, edited by John Holmes and Carroll S. Towle, is published at $4 by Houghton Mifflin. It runs to 1,063 pages and is printed double-column. The material is gathered under major headings: "Non-Fiction: The Range of Human Interest"; "The Drama"; "The Short Story: Illusion and Design"; "Poetry: Eye, Ear, Mind"; and "The Novel: Character in Action"; and mi-

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nor divisions: "Personal History"; "Persons and Places"; "Science and Scientific Method"; "Opinion and Points of View," etc. Each subheading has a short introduction telling the reader what he may expect, the facets of expression, differences of opinion and cross-currents of ideology. In the back of the book is a section of one-paragraph biographies of the authors, who are drawn from all of literature and beyond (politics, history, philosophy, history, economics, religion, science), even though the emphasis is on modern writers.

The first 500 pages contain essays and extracts from nearly one hundred authors, ranging from Plato through John Hersey *(Hiroshima)*. Three full-length plays are given: Ibsen's "An Enemy of the People," O'Neill's "Ah, Wilderness!" and Maxwell Anderson's "Winterset." There are 19 short stories by Hawthorne, Maupassant, James, Faulkner, Saroyan and others. There is a long and powerful narrative poem in blank verse by Josephine Young Case, "At Midnight on the Thirty-First of March," which originally appeared—and sank from sight—in 1938. There are 50-odd pages of some of the finest poetry in the language, from Chaucer to Auden and beyond. Finally, Willa Cather's novel, *My Antonia*, is printed in full. How much would we be out of pocket if we were to acquire these items singly or in small blocks? The short stories alone are worth the price of admission.

Below are listed 13 anthologies of several types: general, short story, poetry, and criticism—most of them textbooks, but a few designed for the general trade, together with a short description of contents. The listing is by no means exhaustive; it is intended merely to whet the already large appetite of the true reader, who may not have known of such luxurious fare at bargain prices.

¶ *A Quarto of Modern Literature.* Edited by Leonard B. Brown and Porter G. Perrin (Scribners; $4.50). A handsome, oversize book. Sixteen stories by Conrad, Galsworthy, Joyce, Shirley Jackson, Kafka, Wharton, *et al.* A short and good selection of English and American poets from Hardy and Stephen Crane to Dylan Thomas and Kenneth Fearing. An astonishingly large offering of plays: Galsworthy's "Loyalties"; O'Neill's "The Emperor Jones"; Sherwood's "Abe Lincoln in Illinois"; Giraudoux's "The Madwoman of Chaillot"; and Miller's "Death of a Salesman."

¶ *Readings for Liberal Education.* Edited by Louis G. Locke, William M. Gibson and George Arms (Rinehart; $4). Two volumes in one: "Toward Liberal Education" and "Introduction to Literature." The first section has selections from the whole range of nonfiction prose, the second assembles poetry, fiction and drama under various subheadings, from Greek literature to Kafka and later. Twenty-one short stories. Four plays: Euripedes' "Alcestis"; Marlowe's "Dr. Faustus"; O'Neill's "The Emperor Jones"; and Thurber and Nugent's "The Male Animal." Noteworthy feature: 21 interpretations by various critics appended to some of the poems and stories.

¶ *College Reader: Biography and Exposition.* Edited by Homer A. Watt and Oscar Cargill (Prentice-Hall; $3.95 text, $5.30 trade). A wide and searching selection of essays, biography, reminiscences, letters, reviews, short stories (15), poetry, radio script, three plays: Lady Gregory's "Spreading the News"; Galsworthy's "Strife"; and S. N. Behrman's "End of Summer."

¶ *Modern Minds: An Anthology of Ideas,* compiled by Howard Mumford Jones, Richard Ludwig and Marvin B. Perry Jr. (D. C. Heath; $3.50). The book lives up to its subtitle; it reflects present-day complexities so accurately that the intellectual burden may seem formidable. Some categories of selections: "The Problems of Education," "Life in America," "Gods and Machines," "War and Peace." Small sections of humor and short stories (7).

¶ *The World's Best.* Edited by Whit Burnet (Dial Press; $5). Companion volume to Burnett's 1942 *This Is My Best.* A long, involved statistical introduction, showing how educators, authors, librarians, booksellers and reviewers selected the greatest—in their opinion—living authors to be represented, might intimidate the stoutest heart. The inhabitants of this statistical Valhalla are not always represented by their best or most characteristic work and the samples (an act of a play, a piece chopped out of a novel) are often badly mutilated by the surgery. The collection is superficially impressive, but it does not live up to its grandiose editorial machinery. NB: *The World's Best* is not a college text; it is a guestroom adornment.

¶ *Masters of the Modern Short Story.* Edited by Walter Havighurst (Harcourt, Brace; $1.85). Twenty-four stories: Maugham, A. E. Coppard, E. M. Forster, Joyce, Woolf, Lawrence, Mansfield, Aldous Huxley, Katherine Anne Porter, Faulkner, Hemingway, Welty, Conrad, Galsworthy, Saki, Stella Benson, Wharton, Sherwood Anderson, Lardner, Conrad Aiken, Wilbur Daniel Steele, Stephen Vincent Benét, Steinbeck, Saroyan. A surprisingly large number of the stories are off the beaten track.

¶ *Modern Short Stories: A Critical Anthology.* Edited by Robert B. Heilman (Harcourt, Brace; $2). In addition to the first 12 authors listed above (with only two stories overlapping: Joyce's "A Little Cloud" and Woolf's "The New Dress"), it contains 17 stories by Caroline Gordon, Mark Schorer, Jessamyn West, Sidney Alexander, James Thurber, Kay Boyle, Irwin Shaw, William March, Graham Greene, H. F. Heard, V. S. Pritchett, Kafka, George Milburn, J. F. Powers, William Carlos Williams, Shirley Jackson, Thomas Mann. Each story is succinctly analyzed, if occasionally too "creatively," and some poor ones are included for purposes of criticism.

¶ *Short Stories: Tradition and Direction.* Edited by William M. Sale Jr., James Hall and Martin Steinmann (New Directions; $4). Twenty-four stories, some overlapping with preceding anthologies, but there are additional names: Bierce, James, Evelyn Waugh, Chekhov, Frances Woodward, T. F. Powys, Robert Penn Warren, Delmore Schwartz, Meyer Liben. Interesting, but not so good a buy as Havighurst or Heilman.

¶ *Short Stories for Study: An Anthology.* Edited by Raymond W. Short and Richard B. Sewall (Henry Holt; $2.50). Twenty-four stories, many by authors in the preceding collections, but with a wider range historically. Additional authors: Hardy, Irving, Dostoevsky, Gorky, Giono, Allan Seager, Stephen Crane, Caldwell, Yeats, Frank O'Connor. Includes Conrad's "Heart of Darkness."

¶ *The House of Fiction: An Anthology of the Short Story.* With commentary by Allen Tate and Caroline Gordon (Scribners; $5). Allen Tate, distinguished poet and critic, and his wife, Caroline Gordon, fiction writer (see Heilman) and critic, have produced a collection that is probably the first to be grounded avowedly and almost entirely on the principles which Henry James enunciated or implied in the prefaces to his last collection of fiction, the New York Edition. The list of authors is almost definitive for all aspects of the short story: Flaubert, Hawthorne, Melville, Poe, Tolstoy, Turgenev, Gogol, Chekhov, Maupassant, Colette, Hemingway, Lardner, O'Connor, Porter, Bowen, Faulkner, O'Faolain, Lytle, Warren, Welty, Powers, Peter Taylor. Fifteen stories have perceptive commentaries appended, and there is a double appendix which analyzes "The Art of Fiction" and "The Faults of the Amateur." The bibliography reflects the direct critical line from James.

¶ *The Story: A Critical Anthology.* Edited by Mark Schorer (Prentice-Hall; $3.35). Twenty-four short stories in an arrangement that reveals the critical preoccupations of the editor, who is a novelist, short-story writer (see Heilman), and critic: "The Story Base," "Character and Action," "Surface and Symbol," "Style and Meaning" and "Toward the Novel." Each section contains an introductory comment, and nine stories are analyzed. Most of the stories and authors are standard for anthological inclusion. The triple analysis of "The Turn of the Screw" is especially to be noted: James's own comments are given; they are followed by Edmund Wilson's famous (if not notorious) essay, "The Ambiguity of Henry James," together with his much later postscript; and the symposium concludes with the most extraordinary example of "creative" criticism in recent American literary history, Robert B. Heilman's

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absurd venture into free association, *"The Turn of the Screw* as Poem."

¶ *Modern American Poetry and Modern British Poetry.* Edited by Louis Untermeyer (Harcourt, Brace; $6). Still the colossus in the textbook trade, this revised "Mid-Century Edition," two volumes in one, should occupy a central position in anyone's library. The range is great and all-inclusive. The standard anthology of its kind.

¶ *Critiques and Essays in Criticism: 1920-1948.* Selected and edited by Robert Wooster Stallman. With a Foreword by Cleanth Brooks (Ronald Press; $5). Indispensable for those with enough fortitude to find out for themselves how the art of literature may be evaluated. A collection not easily digested, it reflects the virtues and vices of modern criticism, but also indicates that the crowning literary achievement of our era may lie in this ancillary field.

Sidney E. Lind is a member of the English Department of Brooklyn College. He has published articles in scholarly journals, and is now preparing for publication the collected book reviews of Henry James.

Art Books for Christmas

by Lincoln Kirstein

SINCE SPACE is limited, only books published in, or as from, the United States are listed. However, the finest combination of letterpress and plates is to be found in the three volumes of *The History of Modern Painting*, produced by Albert Skira in Switzerland but widely available here. These are: Vol. 1, *From Baudelaire to Bonnard*, the history of Impressionism, with 80 color-plates; Vol. 2, *Matisse, Munch, Rouault*, Fauves and Expressionists, with 88 color-plates (both $12.50); and *From Picasso to Surrealism*, with 112 color-plates ($15). Skira's *History of Italian Painting* (the Middle Ages to Botticelli), with 105 excellent color-plates, is now available at $15.

King Penguin continues to issue small, well-produced color-books; the latest are John Piper's *Romney Marsh* and Wilfred Blunt's exceptional *Tulipomania*. The British Information Service, Rockefeller Center, New York City, has the splendid cheap monographs printed by His Majesty's Stationery Office for the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Metropolitan Museum of Art has a fine selection of Christmas cards, picture books, reproductions and the first-rate monthly *Bulletin*.

PERIODICALS

PORTFOLIO: A Magazine for the Graphic Arts (Editors: George S. Rosenthal and Frank Zachary; Zebra Press, 22 East 12th Street, Cleveland, Ohio; quarterly; $12).

This most beautifully produced magazine in the United States surpasses Continental deluxe work in controlled exuberance, clarity of design and distinction in letterpress and illustration. Photography, typography, industrial graphics, calligraphy and textiles receive elaborate treatment. A mine of ideas for commercial designer and advertising artist.

MEASURE (Henry Regnery Company, 20 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago; $3.50 a year).

An interesting new quarterly, edited by Otto G. Von Simson, the author of *Sacred Fortress*, a recent full study of Byzantine art and statecraft. In each issue there is one important essay on art. Von Simson's on "The Birth of the Gothic" (Summer, 1950) and Edgar Wind's on Michaelangelo's "The Ark of Noah" (Fall, 1950) are particularly good.

TRANSFORMATIONS (Wittenborn-Schultz; 38 East 57th Street, New York City; $3.75 for 3 issues a year).

A well-printed and stimulating collection of essays on the arts, communication and human environment, industrial design and architecture. An advance-guard publication which gives the direction of the 1950s. No more unlicensed improvisation; instead, playful semantics.

MAGAZINE OF ART (American Federation of Arts, 22 East 60th Street, New York City; $6 monthly, October-May).

James Thrall Soby, author of *The Early Chirico* and many Museum of Modern Art monographs, has assumed editorship. A wise balance between scholarly but not highly specialized articles with good illustrations, plus introductions to new talent. The book reviews are fine.

THE ARCHITECTURAL REVIEW. Monthly; approximately 60 pages of text each issue, many plates, maps, plans in color and half-tone (9-13 Queen Anne's Gate, London, S.W. 1; $6.50 a year).

The best-designed, edited and produced architectural magazine in English (if not in the world) which is enthusiastically aware of the best and worst in past and present painting, sculpture, typography and industrial arts and crafts. Each number is a surprise. Inspired antiquarianism, ironic archeology, crusading contemporaneity and piquant personal fancy are enchantingly combined in a sophisticated vision which defines contemporary international taste at its highest.

ESTHETICS AND ART CRITICISM

ART-MAKING FROM MEXICO TO CHINA, by Jean Charlot; 41 illustrations in black and white (Sheed and Ward; $3).

Charlot, a gifted muralist, precursor of the Mexican school of the twenties, is one of the best art critics writing in English. He has a French analytical clarity and realism, empirical knowledge of technique, with a catholic taste (in both senses). This book compiles more of his brief, sharply-written essays in the manner of his *Art from the Mayans to Disney* (1939). His attitude to art as work and praise, rather than "creation," which is the innovatory process of God alone, has much in common with Maritain, Gilson and Eric Gill. It is hard to think of agnostic critics (as distinct from art-historians) who write as well or think as hard, or who are so valuable for the intellectually curious art student.

PRINCIPLES OF ART HISTORY: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art, by Heinrich Wölflin; 150 illustrations in photo-offset (Dover Publications; $3.95).

A contemporary classic of the esthetics of form in late aspects of Western painting, sculpture and architecture, well translated by M. D. Hottinger. While it makes some demands on the attention of the ordinary reader, it is worth the whole spate of recent popularizing histories and vulgarized "appreciations." The plates are weakly reproduced but serve as useful reference. This book will make a serious person begin to see with mind as well as eye, to become conscious of formal and historical roots in the construction of art.

STYLES IN PAINTING: A Comparative Study, by Paul Zucker; 233 illustrations in half-tone (Viking; $6.50).

This is an ingeniously-conceived book by a sensitive and cultivated observer. But the divisions of "basic categories"—human-body, group composition, contemporary and genre scenes, portraiture, landscape, interiors and still-life—seem somewhat naively organized and tend to overlap. However, the comparison of artists in various epochs working on the same subjects is historically revelatory. Esthetically, less is illuminated. Does the juxtaposition of landscapes by the elder Breughel with George Innes, or of Konrad Witz with El Greco, tell us much about these artists except that they observed nature in their own ways? The

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frequently over-familiar plates are atrociously reproduced on poor paper.

PLEASURE FROM PICTURES, by Pamela Strain; 32 plates in color, 43 in half-tone (Studio Publications; $5).

Many plates, adequately printed, seem to have been left over from past monthly issues of *The Studio* magazine, a conservative Anglo-American perennial which maintains a mild persistence rather than much distinction. A nice enough book for a child who likes pictures and wants to learn. Unsystematic but agreeable.

ART HISTORY

THE LASCAUX CAVE PAINTERS, by Fernand Windels; 160 plates in gravure, 8 in color, with many figures in black and white, plans, etc. (Viking; $10).

A dignified presentation of the great discovery in 1950 of intensely realistic paleolithic paintings in the Dordogne. The text is scrupulously edited, covering geological, anthropological, zoological, social, magical and artistic elements in the caves. A technical explanation of the means of prehistoic rendering follows an analysis of the evolution of styles in cave-art. An absorbing study, excellently produced in France and England. The exceptionally clear photographs are unretouched; fine maps and lay-out.

THE FAUVIST PAINTERS, by Georges Duthuit (Vol. II: *Documents of Modern Art*, Robert Motherwell, editor); 35 illustrations, 16 in color (Wittenborn-Schultz; $6.50).

An extremely well-produced study with good plates in an authoritative series providing a coherent background for twentieth-century art. Matisse's son-in-law pardonably makes this master his hero, but less familiar men—Marquet, Manguin, van Dongen and Friesz—are closely covered. The author is a rhapsodist; his style sweats. The Chateaubriand of Fauvism, he endows his subject with a rich verbal impasto, in harmony with the style. A first-rate bibliography (one of his many) by Bernard Karpel.

SURVIVAL: The Salvage and Protection of Art in War, by James J. Rorimer, in collaboration with Gilbert Rabin; 90 illustrations in half-tone (Abelard Press; $4).

A rather journalistic account of his war adventures by the distinguished curator of The Cloisters, containing a detailed description of the way the Nazi looting organizations worked. It will serve as necessary source material when the eventual history of the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section comes to be written, and makes us increasingly grateful to those individuals who saved so many masterpieces amid the general disaster.

SCULPTURE

THE SCULPTURE OF NEGRO AFRICA, by Paul S. Wingert; 118 illustrations in half-tone, 61 line-drawings (Columbia University Press: $4.50).

A clear introduction, divided into West, Central and East Africa, and the Cameroons. Drawings in the text immediately establish basic formal characteristics. The reader is left to supply his own esthetics, which is a relief after so many years of almost mystical adulation of the phenomenon of Negro art. Useful lists of American collections and a good bibliography.

EGYPTIAN ART. Text by Etienne Drioton; 152 photographs by Etienne Sved, in gravure (Golden Griffin Books; $8).

Handsome photographs of sculpture, architecture and landscape, and arranged as a rational history. The sharp plasticity of the miraculous stonecutting is admirably rendered. The lighting is frequently melodramatic, but it does not sacrifice form or edges for a flashy picture. Details are composed well, and the inking and printing of the plates (in France) are rich and deep. As for the material itself, the supreme mineral anonymity and terrible absoluteness of Egyptian sculpture renders almost all subsequent Western achievement—even Greek and Gothic—small in scale and tentative in execution.

MEXICO IN SCULPTURE: 1521-1821, by Elizabeth Wilder Weismann; 169 reproductions in photo-offset (Harvard University Press; $7.50).

An absorbing survey of a little-known area—post-Conquest craft—in which Indian workmen adapted native sensibility to Spanish models. Well written, judicious and vivid. The process used to reproduce the often excellent photographs grays everything down and is particularly unfortunate for sculpture, but the book is worth owning on every other count.

AMERICAN ART

AMERICAN PAINTING: History and Interpretation, by Virgil Barker; 100 half-tones (Macmillan; $12.50).

This is possibly the most comprehensive treatment of its subject and benefits from much intensive research in the last 25 years, during which time many monographs and exhibitions have caught up with the complex story of eighteenth and nineteenth-century painting. Barker does not touch the last 50 years. His illustrations are disappointingly familiar, indifferently reproduced, and serve only as references. But so much factual laboring, patient consideration and good organization is involved that one must be grateful. Many charming quotations from contemporary prose and verse provide a vivid social and political background.

THE INDEX OF AMERICAN DESIGN, by Erwin O. Christensen. With an introduction by Holger Cahill; 378 illustrations, 117 in color (Macmillan; $15).

The huge collection of meticulous renderings illustrating the fantastic range of innocent vision and native craftsmanship, now deposited in our National Gallery, is a permanent glory of the WPA. This selection is beautifully chosen, described and reproduced. The editor, permanent curator of the Index, makes many modest but acute observations on the richness of his material. The book is in every way a superior production achievement. The plasticity of sculpture, furniture and glass, and the surfaces of textiles and woods, are magnificently executed by both artists and printers.

EARLY AMERICAN FIREARMS, by Robert Abels; 9 illustrations in color, 26 in half-tone.

AMERICAN SILVER, by Kathryn C. Buhler; 8 illustrations in color, 45 in half-tone.

AMERICAN RUGS, by Estelle H. Ries; 8 illustrations in color, 31 in half-tone.

CURRIER AND IVES, by F. A. Conningham; 8 illustrations in color, 31 in half-tone.

AMERICAN GLASS, by Katherine Morrison McClinton; 9 illustrations in color, 30 in half-tone.

PENNSYLVANIA DUTCH ART, by Ruth Adams; 10 illustrations in color, 27 in half-tone.

These volumes in The American Arts Library are published by World; 64 pages. $1 each.

These small introductory monographs are brilliantly produced with admirable illustrations, many in color taken from *The Index of American Design*. The material is compact, readable, authoritative and sprightly. They would be cheap at twice their price, a fine introduction to native crafts. The texts of *Firearms* and *Silver* are particularly diverting.

EARLY NEW ENGLAND POTTERS AND THEIR WARES, by Lura Woodside Watkins; 136 illustrations in collotype, frontispiece in color (Harvard University Press; $10).

A spectacularly complete record of the sturdy craft, boldly conceived and executed with good, if rather small, illustrations. Every possible aspect is investigated—artistic, technical and economic—with a vivid feeling for topographical sources and a witty use of documents.

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There is a full checklist of individual potters and a fine bibliography.

THE LIFE AND WORKS OF DAVID BLYTHE, by Dorothy Miller; 21 illustrations in photo-offset (University of Pittsburgh Press; $5).

The first complete study devoted to a fascinating American who was individual to the point of eccentricity. A panoramist and social caricaturist in the line of the great English draftsmen, Blythe was also an original painter with a highly idiosyncratic concept of plastic form and characterization. There is a checklist of pictures; the text is forthright. The illustrations are disappointingly grayed down.

JOHN SMIBERT: PAINTER, by Henry Wilder Foote; 10 illustrations in half-tone (Harvard University Press; $6).

A well-organized, painstaking life and complete catalogue of the works of the earliest recorded American artist, which may be of more interest to the social historian than to art students. Except for the paucity of illustrations, it is impossible to imagine the job's being more thoroughly done.

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE PUEBLOS, by Stanley Stubbs; 25 plates in half-tone, 27 plans in black and white (University of Oklahoma Press; $3).

Aerial views of the Indian settlements, well reproduced, which apart from their great social, economic and historical interest have an accidental plastic charm, not unrelated to compositions by Paul Klee and the early Mondrian. Description and text are interesting; the book's production is superior to many from the far richer Eastern university presses.

INDIVIDUAL ARTISTS

The Library of Great Painters. Each volume has 50 reproductions in color, about 20 in gravure (Harry N. Abrams, Inc.; $10).

RENOIR. Introduction by Walter Pach.

VAN GOGH. Introduction by Meyer Schapiro.

EL GRECO. Introduction by Leo Bronstein.

These large, well-bound and printed monographs are extravagantly illustrated and represent perhaps the peak of native color reproduction in book form. The intensity in the chromatic scale is remarkably deep and gives the spirit of the original, even in reduction. Colors are heightened by a highly refractive paper surface, which seems coated with varnish; each picture looks as if it were cleaned yesterday. The prefatory essays are well illustrated by unfamiliar drawings and related materials, and many of the paintings themselves will be new to Americans who have not been to Europe. The quality of brushwork is apparent in well-chosen details, particularly in the high-relief of Van Gogh's impasto. Walter Pach's text has the contagious warmth of a long friendship with Renoir. The Greco introduction is Germanic, rhetorical, expressionist but rewarding. Professor Schapiro's brief, iconographical essays on Van Gogh are masterly.

DÜRER AND HIS TIMES, by Wilhelm Waetzoldt; 32 reproductions of woodcuts; 151 plates in gravure, 8 in color (Phaidon; $6.50).

This book demonstrates the criterion of Western graphic rendering of objective reality. A strong social, political and religious background is well integrated with the artistic appraisal. An almost mechanical perfection, further enhanced by reduction in reproduction, exposes Dürer's genius as less sympathetic than that of the Southern masters, even those less able than Leonardo, his great contemporary. The book, by a German scholar, was well translated and admirably produced in England.

VESALIUS: The Illustrations From His Works. Edited and with an introduction, annotation and biographical study by J. B. de C. M. Saunders and Charles D. O'Malley; 96 plates in black and white, 3 in photo-offset (World; $10).

A superb edition of a masterpiece of science, art and printing. One of the most beautiful books of the High Renaissance (it provided the anatomical information that made the Baroque possible) is given a lucid, careful presentation, handsomely printed on fine paper. The electrifying parade of plates detailing man's living organism through a series of melodramatic postures reads like a ballet of the Last Judgment.

GUSTAVE COURBET. by Marcel Zahar (*Masters of Painting*: Harper's Art Library; 31 plates in half-tone, 8 in color; $3).

The plates are indifferently produced, but the aim of this inexpensive series (which already includes rather better monographs on Gainsborough, Vermeer and Delacroix) is praiseworthy—to provide something between flat popularization and a definitive treatise. The text is tidy and the condensed critique tasteful.

SOUTINE, by Monroe Wheeler; 65 illustrations in half-tone, 10 in color (The Museum of Modern Art; $3.95).

An efficient monograph on the late expressionist, subject of the present memorial exhibition, now in New York, later to be in Cleveland. The disintegration of the paint-surface, from Rembrandt to Soutine, is the history of the triumph of personalism in contemporary art. It is difficult to imagine a deliquescence richer in self-pity than Soutine's, but his heirs are even now surpassing him.

The Museum monographs continue to set the American standard for clarity of design, excellence of production and completeness in handling.

ARCHITECTURE

GEORGIAN ARCHITECTURE, by A. E. Richardson, R.A.; 70 line-drawings, 155 half-tones (Pellegrini & Cudahy; $5).

A brief, well-organized account of the rich background of much early American building, with an excellent coverage of unfamiliar Ireland and many remote and infrequently visited monuments in England. The author is primarily an architect, writing for those aware of his special problems, but he is neither fussy nor stuffy. This forms the third in an admirable series of introductions, under the general editorship of Hugh Casson, of which *Regency* and *Victorian* have already appeared.

ROME: Portrait of the Eternal City. Edited by Herbert Bittner and Ernest Nash, with an Introduction by Giuseppe Prezzolini; 171 plates in photo-offset (Regnery; $6.50).

A beautifully designed and produced book with an admirable selection of specially taken photographs detailing the architectural glories of the city. Familiar monuments are seen from revelatory angles; unfamiliar ones are continual surprises. A pious introductory "appreciation," calculated for Holy Year pilgrims, covers 2,000 years without a mention of Fascism or Mussolini. But that can't spoil the plates, for which there are good descriptive notes.

ENGLISH CATHEDRALS. Photographs and introduction by Martin Hürlimann; descriptive matter by Peter Meyer; with a foreword by Geoffrey Grigson; 152 photographs, mostly full-page, in gravure (Houghton Mifflin; $7.50).

Magnificent studies of 17 of the finest English Gothic churches, preceded by good plans and notes, make this a most satisfactory album. Hürlimann has found the perfect quality of light to throw weather-beaten cut-stone into appealing relief. This book is admirably produced in Switzerland and England, and is comparatively inexpensive.

PORTRAIT OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL, by G. H. Cook; 73 plates in half-tone (Chantecleer; $3.50).

Durham, Canterbury and Salisbury

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have already appeared in this *Phoenix Series of English Cathedrals*. Well printed, well edited and cheap, they are an inspired example of modern British popular archeology. From studying them we realize that Gothic was always a "modern" style, in whatever epoch: the form fitted the function, which was praise. Stonecutting and vaulting, pillars and glass were as metrical as the adorned logic of the liturgy. These English churches are less familiar but scarcely less lovely than the French.

SWITZERLAND BUILDS: Its Native and Modern Architecture, by G. E. Kidder-Smith; 474 plates in half-tone, and plans (Bonniers; $7.50).

The author of *Brazil Builds* and *Sweden Builds* continues his special studies of traditional and contemporary styles; as a gifted architect and a photographer of genius Kidder-Smith is unusually well equipped for the task. This superbly produced Swedish book, well designed by the author, relates building to history and landscape as well as to function. There is nothing provincial, however intensely Swiss, about the buildings; they have vitality and a beautiful feeling for the proper weight of wood and stone in native and modern architecture.

FIVE THOUSAND YEARS OF BUILDING, by Joseph Watterson; 176 plates in half-tone; 117 plans and drawings in black and white (W. W. Norton; $6).

The clear, well-chosen illustrations and an easy style make this book as good a layman's guide as exists. Only the last thirty years, while sympathetically faced, seem skimped. One might have hoped for more coverage of steel, concrete and the cantilever, since the problems of Greek, Roman and Gothic builders are so well considered, but as far as the "historic" styles go, the survey is admirably balanced in social, economic and structural elements.

THE WORK OF OSCAR NIEMEYER. Edited by Stamo Papadaki, with a Foreword by Lucio Costa; 219 pages of half-tones and plans (Reinhold; $9).

This Brazilian architect is one of the most elegant, playful, prolific and adventurous of contemporary builders, and has the advantage of a tropical climate, government patronage, excellent training (under Le Corbusier, who was invited to Brazil at his behest). His Ministry of Education has left a strong imprint on the new United Nations Secretariat. A minimal text ties the entire development of Niemeyer with his structural solutions and his great sense of site. His gay and gracious work is one extreme of contemporary feasibility in steel, glass and concrete, but he is no puritan and defeats the general antisepsis of Corbusier's school by mosaic tiles, paint, tropical planting and by an almost baroque exuberance in free forms.

DESIGN

DESIGNING FOR FILMS, by Edward Carrick (How To Do It Series: No. 27); 135 plates in half-tone; 4 in color; numerous plans and tables (Studio-Crowell; $5).

Revised and expanded from 1941, this well-produced English book refers generally to English films, but gives some foreign examples. The sets are rather old, but finely designed and intelligently chosen. The principles of construction are clearly explained, with good diagrams of the use of the camera. The over-all taste is of the quality that makes the average British commercial picture superior to ours and inferior to the best realistic French and Italian ones.

SYMBOLS, SIGNS AND SIGNETS, by Ernst Lehner; 1,355 illustrations in black and white (World; $8.50).

A large, beautifully designed and produced compendium, well arranged by category, with compact, informative text. An absorbing theatre of graphic semantics, covering time and space from Oriental and Occidental antiquity to American cattle-brands and hoboes' marks. Astronomy and astrology, alchemy, magic, religion, heraldry and printers' signs contribute arresting insignia of their essential functions. Mexico and our Northwest are included, but it is odd that contemporary national symbols and political glyphs were omitted, since there are even sections on watermarks and Japanese crests.

WHAT IS MODERN DESIGN? (Introductory Series to the Modern Arts, No. 3), by Edgar J. Kauffman Jr.; 70 half-tone plates (Museum of Modern Art; $1).

A brief, sensible, clearly-written preface to an extreme purist taste in contemporary furniture, textiles, cutlery, glass and metal ware, with a good historical background. The choice of objects is as antiseptic as the annual Museum of Modern Art Christmas Gift shows. No utensils here could acquire a patina or a trace of homey shabbiness; they gleam with a dust-defying sadness. For stainless steel there is no past or future, and the hospital shall be our home.

MUSIC: Records for Christmas

ALL THE RECORDS in this checklist are available in long-playing (33⅓ rpm) versions. About half of them are issued exclusively in that format—especially the releases of the smaller companies—since the old-style 78-rpm album is now generally considered obsolete. The 7-inch, 45-rpm records devised by RCA Victor are also pretty much a dead issue, except to those who bought special record players for them. The price of LP records is fairly standard (usually $3.85 for a 10-inch record; $4.85 for a 12-inch). The imported Cetra-Soria opera recordings are a little higher. Except where otherwise noted, each item listed is contained on a single 10-inch or 12-inch LP disc.

FULL-LENGTH OPERAS

MOZART: Idomeneo (Bavarian Radio Orchestra and Chorus, various singers, Hans Altmann conducting; Mercury, 2 discs). A disappointing hack job of a beautiful and wrongfully neglected work.

SAINT-SAENS: Samson et Dalila (Members of the Paris Opera, Louis Fourestier conducting; Columbia, 3 discs). A first-class interpretation, with well-sung, dramatically forceful projections of the title roles by two of the world's best exponents of them—José Luccioni and Helen Bouvier—and splendid ensemble singing in the extensive choral passages.

STRAUSS: Elektra (Anny Konetzni, Daniza Ilitsch, Marta Mödl, and other singers; Florence Maggio Musicale orchestra, Dimitri Mitropoulos conducting; Cetra-Soria, discs). Recorded at the Florence festival last May, this performance is notable for the white-hot excitement engendered by Mitropoulos and the orchestra. Except for Marta Mödl, a distinguished Clytemnestra, the singers are swamped by the difficulties of the Strauss score. The Elektra, Anny Konetzni, leaves out a great many high notes and rewrites the score to accommodate her shortness of breath. Even so, the total effect is hair-raising, and the recording includes the opening part of the opera, which is not in the otherwise superior RCA Victor 78-rpm album by Sir Thomas Beecham.

VERDI: Ernani (Italian singers, Radio Italiana Orchestra, Fernando Previtali

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conducting; Cetra-Soria, 3 discs). An early work of Verdi, full of music that is powerful and eloquent despite its conventionalities of form, superbly delivered by an Italian cast and conductor who—regardless of minor blemishes—know how to make every point in the score.

VERDI: Rigoletto (Erna Berger, Nan Merriman, Jan Peerce, Leonard Warren, Italo Tajo, Renato Cellini conducting; RCA Victor. Available two ways—chopped-up "highlights" on a single record, and the entire opera on 3 discs). Some of the Metropolitan's best singers in a tasteful, vividly-recorded performance.

WEILL: Die Dreigroschenoper (Original 1928 Berlin performers; Capitol-Telefunken). Kurt Weill's satiric masterpiece of the twenties, modernized variant of "The Beggar's Opera," done with wonderful wit and style by the people who launched its all-European success more than twenty years ago. One of the performers is Lotte Lenya, Weill's wife. The re-pressing achieves surprisingly satisfactory acoustical results.

BAROQUE AND RENAISSANCE

BACH: Goldberg Variations (Wanda Landowska; RCA Victor). One of the great harpsichord performances of our time is now issued in LP form.

BACH: Partitas in G major and A minor (Rosalyn Tureck; Allegro). If you like your Bach keyboard music on the piano rather than the harpsichord, nobody plays it more delightfully than Miss Tureck.

BACH: Solo Violin Sonatas and Partitas (Alexander Schneider; Mercury, 3 discs). All six of Bach's works for unaccompanied violin, magnificently recorded and played with supreme mastery and warm communication.

BACH: Trio Sonatas in C minor and C major (Robert Noehren; Allegro). Expertly played on the Schlicker organ in Kenmore Presbyterian Church, Buffalo, designed to approximate as closely as possible the timbres and value of the baroque organ of Bach's time.

GABRIELI: Seven Canzonas (New York Brass Ensemble; Esoteric). Sixteenth-century music for brass choir by a great Venetian composer who exploited the echo effects made possible by the two lofts in the nave of St. Mark's. Fresh, inventive, unconventional music, handsomely performed by a group of New York brass-players.

PURCELL: The Fairy Queen (Daniel Pinkham and ensemble; Allegro, 2 discs). Extensive excerpts from the blithe pages of a score that deserves to be as well known as the same composer's "Dido and Aeneas." The accomplishment is superior in both taste and engineering, and the recording is one of the best ever made of pre-Bach music.

Random House BOOKS

The Disenchanted

By BUDD SCHULBERG, author of WHAT MAKES SAMMY RUN? "Unquestionably one of the most impressive novels of the year."—N. Y. Times. $3.50

World Enough & Time

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MODERN WORKS

BARTOK: Six Quartets (Juilliard String Quartet; Columbia, 3 discs). Urgent yet polished interpretations of the six quartets widely considered the most valuable chamber-music achievement of our time.

BERG: Fragments from "Wozzeck" (Gertrude Ribla, Philadelphia Orchestra, Eugene Ormandy conducting). Coupled with SCHOENBERG: Song of the Wood-Dove, from "Gurrelieder" (Martha Lipton, New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, Dimitri Mitropoulos conducting; Columbia). Samples of stirring post-Wagnerian, pre-12-tone Viennese dramatic music. The "Wozzeck" fragments are more successfully set forth than the "Gurrelieder" lament, for which Miss Lipton's voice lacks the requisite body.

SHOSTAKOVICH: Quartet No. 3 (Fine Arts Quartet; Mercury). Adroit playing by one of America's best quartets. The music is a trifle meretricious, but skillfully written.

STRAVINSKY: "L'Histoire du Soldat" and Octuor for Wind Instruments (Boston Symphony Orchestra players, Leonard Bernstein conducting; RCA Victor). Two of Stravinsky's Grade A scores in brilliant performances, now available on LP for the first time.

WEBERN: Symphony, Opus 21 (René Leibowitz conducting; Dial). A classic of early 12-tone music, so concentrated in form and expression that it requires only 10 minutes. The instrumental textures are fantastically beautiful, and the content of the piece—for openminded listeners, at least—becomes approachable and affecting after a few preliminary hearings.

STANDARD WORKS

BRAHMS: Clarinet Sonatas Nos. 1 and 2 (Reginald Kell, clarinet; Mieczyslaw Horszowski, piano; Mercury). Nothing is ever played better than this.

BEETHOVEN: Violin Concerto, D major (George Kulenkampff, violin; Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt conducting; Capitol-Telefunken). Only Joseph Szigeti's recording for Columbia equals this one in depth of musicianship, and Kulenkampff's tone is warmer and more inviting. The recording, made before the war, is not quite first-class acoustically.

CHOPIN: Four Ballades (Robert Casadesus; Columbia). Casadesus possesses a breath of style and a feeling for nuance which together give his performance of these works a singular completeness.

GRIEG: Piano Concerto, A minor (Victor Schioler, piano; Danish State Radio Orchestra; Mercury). A celebrated Danish pianist takes the Grieg Concerto really seriously and adds cubits to its stature.

RAVEL: "Daphnis et Chloe," Suites Nos. 1 and 2. Coupled with Schöenberg: Verklärte Nacht (Philadelphia Orchestra, Eugene Ormandy conducting; Columbia). Tonally ravishing and musically satisfying.

SCHUBERT: "Trout" Quintet (Budapest Quartet, Mieczyslaw Horszowski; Columbia). Chamber-music playing at its eloquent best.

SCHUBERT: Quartet, A minor (Fine Arts Quartet; Mercury). A mature performance, notable for its verve, its tonal balance and its fine-grained texture.

CECIL SMITH

MOVIES: Don't Answer the Phone

IT WAS in August, two years ago, that John McNulty, having helped a friend win one of radio's loot programs, was given claim to the literary possibilities in the subsequent shambles. His dryly witty account of the dubious benefits to be derived from a network windfall was published by *The New Yorker* and was so widely admired that Twentieth Century-Fox bought it and made it into a domestic comedy for James Stewart. It is the funniest picture of the season.

As Mr. McNulty explained and as "The Jackpot" demonstrates in hilarious detail, there are two snares awaiting the listener who identifies the mystery tune, voice or what all. The first is that the program pays off, not in cash, but in a variety of goods and services which are mainly useless, inconvenient or downright embarrassing to the average householder. The other is that the Bureau of Internal Revenue taxes these gifts and will not accept payment in kind. The winner of a jackpot who wants to avoid bankruptcy must turn himself into a one-man department store selling everything from palamino ponies to diamond rings. Stewart is possessed of one of the most ingratiating slow takes in Hollywood, and the dawning of these bitter truths upon his benumbed mind will drive any audience into dangerous paroxysms. It is evident that the radio grab-bag was invented to torment the trusting Stewarts of this world.

Since McNulty confined his report to the unhappy events immediately surrounding his friend's lucky guess, Hollywood had to invent a background for the picture. What they concocted is as dreary as the action is hilarious. The script writers Phoebe and Henry Ephron have come up once more with the "typical" American family in which the man is an incompetent, the woman is a domestic executive, the children are precocious brats and any unexplained absence from home is presumed to be adulterous. The cheap formula doesn't spoil the humor of the McNulty-Stewart combination (though there was notably more wit and less slapstick in the McNulty original), but this degraded and endlessly repeated concept of family life is a greater threat to the American home than the corner saloon ever was. I herewith declare a boycott on any future picture in which the husband cannot get up in the morning, toast a piece of bread or be trusted to buy a meal for any female not of his immediate family.

Stewart has good support in "The Jackpot," particularly from James Gleason and Fred Clark. Alan Mowbray is entertaining, if you are entertained by sexually ambiguous interior decorators.

John Ford is one of the few directors whose names habitually appear on the Broadway marquees above those of the stars they direct. He has earned the right to the prominence, but it exposes him when he turns out a potboiler. "Rio Grande," a tale of the American cavalry in the late days of the Indian extermination, is such a picture. It is long-winded, jerkily constructed out of a lot of odds and ends. The conventional scenes of charges, ambushes and trick riders biting the dust at full gallop are tangled up in a feckless romance between John Wayne and Maureen O'Hara. Claude Jarman Jr., although he is cast in the trite part of the tough old campaigner's manly son, turns in the one performance that has any quality. Jarman, almost

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grown now, is an alert, quiet but communicative actor and it will be Hollywood's fault if he doesn't develop into one of the screen's most valuable dramatic stars. Victor McLaglen is also in "Rio Grande," dispensing once again his special version of Irish charm. Ford should not use McLaglen in his popcorn operas; too many people still remember "The Informer."

The Production Code Authority, which spends so much time on perplexing items like cleavage and twin beds, might glance now and then at the war pictures Hollywood turns out. Besides taking every possible precaution against a flare-up of the mating instinct in crowded theatres, the Code people are said to be regular bird dogs on matters of taste; it is just possible that the use of Bataan and Omaha Beach as backgrounds for witless, stereotyped melodramas is an offense against good form. The studios have made excellent pictures of World War II—"Battleground" was one of them—but the current items, "American Guerrilla in the Philippines" and "Breakthrough," are poor entertainment and worse tributes to the American dead.

Any resemblance between "American Guerrilla" and war as it was fought, and is being fought, in the Pacific is a coincidence of flora, terrain and military uniforms. You would gather that MacArthur's well-known determination to "return" was motivated principally by a desire to attend the Tyrone Power-Micheline Prelle nuptials; his facsimile in sun glasses appears like a Jack-in-a-Jeep just in time to throw rice at the bride. A good many Filipinos, including the French lady's inconvenient native husband, are obliged to die in order to effect this happy union, but what all the bloodletting has to do with winning a war is never made clear. Director Fritz Lang succeeded in making from the material given him (a script adapted by Lamar Trotti from an Ira Wolfert novel) only a disjointed, repetitious and unconvincing dumbshow.

"Breakthrough," a chronicle of the Normandy landing and the battle of the hedgerows, looks more like war. Some of the combat scenes are as miserably realistic as anything in "Battleground," but, unlike that picture, "Breakthrough" does not trouble to create character and is satisfied with the worn currency of soldier types. The plot is at least as old as "Journey's End," and probably goes back to the Punic Wars: a young lieutenant (John Agar) hates his commanding officer (David Brian) for the latter's apparent callousness, not realizing that the older man hides his agony behind an armor of toughness. Inevitably, the lieutenant eventually takes over the company and treats *his* green subaltern with the self-protective brutality under which he himself had suffered. A picture content to use this threadbare theme is not interested in exploring human experience; it is compounding a cliché for the money in it.

Furthermore, "Breakthrough" contains a scene between a grotesquely amorous mademoiselle and a GI health faddist that passes all recent records for screen vulgarity. The Production Code might at least have spared us that.

ROBERT HATCH

THEATRE

The First 15 Years

"THE COUNTRY GIRL" is lightweight Odets. That the least meaty of his plays should prove to be almost the most popular is significant of the press, not of the author.

No more gifted playwright has appeared in the past fifteen years. I doubt whether any American playwright at all has a greater talent for living dramatic speech, for characterization, for intensity of feeling. Above all, Odets is a true theatre poet: he is never literal, and his power with words does not represent verbal proficiency but a blood tie with the sources from which sound literature and dramatic action spring.

Apart from a certain romantic afflatus, which is at times an easily discernible defect but more often a virtue, the strength of Odets' work lies in his main theme

Beginning Next Week

A series of three editorial articles

THE CRISIS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IN EUROPE

Grave as the outlook in the Far East now is, the situation in Europe is potentially much more serious. The loss of industrial Western Europe, now indefensible, would be a crippling blow to the free world. How is this situation to be remedied? From the best informed sources in Washington the New Republic has procured the material for three editorial articles, publication of which will begin next week, on this most critical subject. The titles of the articles are:

1. The Dilemma of Rearmament
2. The Frustration of Unification
3. A Constructive Foreign Policy for Europe

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and the particular quality of its statement. The question Odets constantly asks is: What helps a man *live*? Since we are citizens of the twentieth century, we may translate this as: What today injures man's spirit? What enhances or diminishes the creatively human in him? "It's trying to be a man on the earth," a young boy confesses naively in "Waiting for Lefty." All Odets is a variant on this theme, while the child-like pathos of its utterance reveals the Odetsian touch at its most naked.

Odets' art has an immediacy and an *intimacy* equaled by no other dramatist of our generation. His plays strike home; they touch us where we live. Though they often shout, they are powerful because, in fact, they speak quietly to our hearts. They are moving because beneath their occasional bluster they sigh and weep with our own unadvertised and non-literary anguish. Their tone sometimes has a slight aura of portentousness, but at bottom they are unabashedly homey.

When at first he emphasized economic pressure as the deterrent to man's development, Odets was considered new, bold and "revolutionary," and his name became consonant with a big social noise. But this was partly due to the mood of the thirties and our foolish appetite for novelty. Later, when he began to explore the depressive effect of the wounded ego on man's soul, he no longer seemed so "new," though in fact he had become subtler and more valuable. The truth is that even "the economic interpretation" of man's unhappiness in Odets' first plays was only an indirect statement of one of the ways Americans feel the injury to their egos.

This confusion in understanding Odets results in part from his immaturity of judgment in regard to his own feeling. Corresponding to the conflict between his inadequate plot structures and his swarming emotion, there has always been a discrepancy between what he is and what he thinks he is, a breach between his consciousness and his actual experience. The most visible dramatic symptom of this was the clash between the story line in some of his later plays and what he expected us to gather from them. This produced an increasing emotional and artistic turmoil which reached its most distressing state in "The Big Knife."

To evade this dilemma, Odets has written "The Country Girl," in which he pretends to do nothing but tell a "human-interest" story as effective stage ware. But he is so subjective a writer that he must disclose something of his true feeling. In "The Country Girl" he tells us that the faltering and enfeebled artist (or man) may be restored by the staunch love of a woman if it is combined with the steady assistance of a friend.

To my mind the play is thin in characterization, meager in authentic feeling, shallow in invention. It is by no means dull, because Odets can never be uninteresting. Even his least vital effort smolders unmistakably with the black burn of his not-so-secret hurt—and there are always those flashes of humor and warm understanding that make us realize that we are in the presence of a *person*, not just a showman. This play, then, is a victory by default. By giving up some of his complexity, Odets has, for the moment, ceased to trouble us, even as he has failed to inspire. The negative discipline Odets has here imposed on himself may prove useful to his future even as it has proved profitable to his present.

The production is generally a good one. Boris Aronson has provided evocative sets of the utmost simplicity, and Odets himself has directed with the same careful intelligence with which he has written. I suspect, though, that by his caution he has, in this respect, done himself a slight disservice: much of the acting is more constricted than is necessary, and more might have been achieved with the actors—though the promising Steven Hill is clearly miscast—than they accomplish. In Uta Hagen's case, on the other hand, there is a clean hit. Her impersonation of the wife is a perfect small characterization given stature by the fact that she is, in the personal as well as the technical sense, one of the finest young actresses on our stage.

HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR: Who Gets the Channels?

WELL, color television is presumably settled now. The Federal Communications Commission has ruled in favor of CBS's system instead of RCA's, the manufacturers of receivers flatly refuse to build sets to CBS-FCC specifications, the issue is waterlogged in the courts. Video's rainbow is about as clear as mud.

But the FCC's decision on color has had one good result: it has cleared the agenda for a hearing on a television matter of far greater importance. The problem is: Should television channels be set aside for the use of educational, non-commercial broadcasters?

The long-drawn-out hearings on color have helped the educational issue. Eighteen months ago, when the FCC ruled on country-wide allocations for television, Commissioner Frieda B. Hennock submitted a separate statement to the effect that some of the channels should be assigned for educational purposes, even in areas where no educational applicants have as yet come forward. Had the issue gone up for hearing then, little would have happened. Miss Hennock was miles ahead of the educators. Most of them hadn't even thought of asking for what at least one Government servant was willing to set aside for their use.

In the interim, Miss Hennock has been doing some campaigning. While she has abstained, in deference to her quasi-judicial position, from outright publicity stunts, she has appeared at a number of assemblies that receive little notice in the newspapers but much attention from educators. She has been talking about television as a potential force for the cultural enrichment of the nation. She has made many an educator ashamed of the fact that his field had the chance to use radio but gave it away to the commercial boys. She finally got some action.

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As this column is being written, a series of public hearings on educational television is under way before the FCC in Washington. Among witnesses scheduled for appearance are representatives of the United States Office of Education and the Protestant Radio Commission. There will appear—with its own counsel, press agents, secretariat, and all the embellishments of a lobby—a group calling itself the Joint Committee on Educational Television. Among the member organizations supporting this group are the American Council on Education, the Association for Education by Radio, the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, the National Association of State Universities, the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, the National Council of Chief State Officers, and the National Education Association.

Nothing of this kind has happened in broadcasting since the early thirties when a few educators demanded that a percentage of the radio frequencies be set aside for their non-commercial use. Broadcasting talked that proposal down. There were all kinds of reasons, and they are worth mentioning because some of the same logic will be exhibited now. Broadcasters will "deplore" practices of emphasizing comedy, variety and "entertainment" at the expense of programs of higher cultural worth. Broadcasters will hint that some of their fellows may be inexperienced, or influenced by the novelty of the medium. High costs will be mentioned. There will be a general air of piety. Pretty promises will fall like snowflakes. The commercial broadcasters in television—aping their elder brothers in radio two decades ago—will assure the FCC that they are trustworthy purveyors of education, culture and art.

I have a feeling that this kind of stuff won't be swallowed so easily this time. Some educators will insist that, regardless of their own unreadiness to go into TV broadcasting this year or even in the next five years, certain channels must be set aside against the time when they can be used for non-commercial purposes. Some, as in the case of radio, will mention percentages; these will range from 15 to 25. Witnesses will go so far as to insist that, in cities where no more TV channels can be made available for many years, the commercial licensees should give up some of their franchises right now, or at least share them with non-commercial interests.

New York City's metropolitan area will be cited as example. There are seven TV stations on the air in the New York region, and there is no room (in the part of the spectrum at present in use) for any more. Few will argue that all seven stations are earning their right to be seen and heard. As a private citizen, I recommend the withdrawal of at least one of New York's seven licenses right now. I don't think that anyone on the Commission—not even Miss Hennock—would go that far. But the fact is that the city of New York, which operates the finest non-commercial radio station in the country, couldn't get a television license today because there is none to be had. Columbia University would fare no better.

There is only one educational, non-commercial TV station in the country—and 107 licensed to make money through the use of one of the scarcest of public properties. Certainly radio has not shown itself dedicated either to esthetics or to the academic life. I think that colleges which will promise—even if only some day—to try to use television are to be trusted at least as fully as were the radio broadcasters who won out in the 1930s.

The educators appearing in Washington will have powerful opposition. They have some friends on the FCC, since Chairman Wayne Coy is likely to go along with Miss Hennock, part of the way at least. But the commercial fellows can use other influences on Capitol Hill. If things get rough, there are sure to be speeches about free enterprise and the bureaucratic attempts to hamper the chase for the honest buck. That's where citizens can help. If it was ever necessary to write to Washington, it is now, on this issue. Letters or postcards should be addressed to Frieda B. Hennock at the Federal Communications Commission, Washington 25, D. C.

SAUL CARSON

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